

3
the means of pacification, which we thought
most meetest, as the thing which we specially
desired, to be firme & durable, knowing that
the most part of y^e subiects of the realme, had
sufficiently tried, felt, & proued the miseries &
calamities which ciuill & inwarde war bring-
geth wth it. And y^e was y^e very cause, vpon hope
wherof, we tooke our iourney into Polande,
whither y^e states of the countrey (that a litle
before had elected vs for their king) did call
vs: whereas if we had thought that y^e warres
shuld haue sealed & rested so short a time, we
had not abandoned our said lord & brother, nor
yet y^e realm. But rather we wold haue pre-
ferred y^e conseruatiō & defence thereof, aboue
al aduancemēt or perticular benefite y^e could
touch vs or apertain vnto vs. Yet notwith-
standing some being seduced by euill counsell,
haue vnder diuers pretēces, renewed y^e troubles
and entred again into armes. Wherby it is
come to passe that the realme is immediatly
falne into y^e same malady of whiche it was
but newly crept out, & the means y^e had but
attēpted for the redress thereof, brought not
the fruite that was looked for, and desired.
Nowe for asmuche as it is the duetie of a
good king, as well as of a good father and

~~1574~~ 1574
A DECLARA-
tion concerning the need-
fulnesse of peace to be made
in *Fraunce*, and the means for the ma-
king of the same : exhibited to the
most Christian king, Henrie the second
of that name, King of *Fraunce* and *Po-
lande*, vpon two Edictes, put forth
by his Maiestie, the one the tenth
of September, the other the
thirteenth of October.

Anno. 1574.

Translated out of Frenche by

G. H. Esquire.

1576-77 not

Imprinted at London

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Newberie, dwelling in Fleetstreet,
a little aboue the Conduit.

A DECLARATION

tion concerning the need-
ful of peace to be made
in France and the means for the ma-
king of the same: exhibited to the
most Christian King, Henry the second
of that name, King of France and Po-
land, upon two Edicts, put forth
by his Majesty, the one the tenth
of September, the other the
thirteenth of October.

ANNO 1574.

The Parliament of France by
G. H. T. R.

Printed in London
by Iohn Iohnson
in the Strand
near St Dunstons Church
1674

ODLEIAN

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¶ To the right worshipfull his
 especiall good father Sir Pearciuall
 Hart Knight, one of the Sewars, and Knight
 Harbinger to hir Maiestie: his humble
 and obedient sonne G. H. wisheth
 health and long lyfe.



I is now (Syr)
 long time since
 I not onely desi-
 red but fully de-
 termined, to te-
 stifie the ac-
 knowledgement of my dutie to-
 wardes you, by some peece of my
 trauell, in this present kinde of ex-
 ercise. The bringing whereof to
 passe, although I haue oftē sought
 by perusing many bookes: yet could

I not light vpo any to answere my
contentment (which stood alwayes
on the choyce of some such matter,
as I thought myght best like you)
vntil there chanced into my hands
this little frenche aduertisement:
The which I had no soner read o-
uer, but by and by there was kind-
led in me a certaine desirousnesse
to take it in hād, partly for the ar-
gumēt therof, which caryeth great
cause of likelyhoode to please the
reader in generall: but chiefly for
my perticular purpose to delight
you, whom I know to haue a special
inclination to heare and reade the
dis-

discourses of the frenche affayres,
bycause you youre selfe in youre
yong daies, hauing serued the kings
Grandfather Francis of Valoys,
in his Courte, and trauayled that
countrey, haue had good occasion
to be acquainted with the customs
thereof, and with the nature of
the people there. And I doubt
not but it will like you so much the
better, for the varietie of foraine
histories, applyed most aptly to the
ground of the present mater, wher-
with it is, I say not powdered or fil-
led, but fraughted. Neuerthe-
lesse, althoughe my liking of the
¶.iij. worke,

worke did hale forward my labour
to the translating thereof: yet I
must needes say, that after I was
somewhat entred thereinto, strait-
wayes there stooode vp such a num-
ber of doubts, and so huge a heape
of imperfections to withstand me,
as had not my desire to pleasure
you preuayled againste all those
stoppes and stayes: my trauell and
deuotion therein had lyen in the
dust, before my race had halfe bin
runne. But yet notwithstanding,
the reasons aforesayd, and the de-
sire I had to do the thing, and the
delight I tooke in doing it, wrought
suche

such perswasion and encouragemēt
in me, and did so keepe me still in
breath, as I neuer gaue it ouer,
till I had turned it into Englishe,
in suche sorte, as you my good fa-
ther, may nowe vouchesafe to see:
to whome, I moste humbly present
it as a newyeeres gift. Therewith-
all hartely wishing, that your ear-
nest zeale towards all wise, wor-
thy, and vertuous proceedynges,
(whereof neerenesse in bloud for-
biddeth me to speak according ei-
ther to your desert, or to my know-
ledge, desire, and duetie) may en-
crease, to Gods glory & the profit
of

of your countrey. And the same
God prosper you and all youre do-
inges, and blesse you with manye
moe newe yeeres, to the conten-
tation of your owne hearts
desire. This first of
January. 1575.

Your humble and obedient
Iohn George Harte.

¶ The fyrste Edicte the tenth of December, of the wil

and intent of the most Christian

King of France and Poland,

Henry of Valoys, the

third of that name.



Enry by the grace
of God King of
France and Poland,
To all that shall see
and reade this pre-
sent Edict, greting.
The brotherly a-
mitie whiche al-
wayes hath bene

mutually betweene our late most honorable
Lord and brother king Charles, (whose soule
God pardone) and vs, and the naturall in-
clination and duestie whiche we haue to the
conseruation and quietnesse of thys realme,
hathe heretofore not only made vs mindfull
of the welfare of our sayde late Lorde and
brother, and of his subiects: but also inforced
vs to neglect our owne commodities, and

A.

to

to participate the care & trauell of managing
all affayres, as wel publike as priuate, and as
well of wars as of peace : in which we haue
willingly imployed, not only al our means,
but also our own proper person, as appereth
by diners encounters & battailes, which God
by his holy grace hath alwaies fauored accor-
ding to y^e right & equitie of the cause which
we defend. Whereas notwithstanding it is
most certain & euident, that y^e losses in y^e case
so happening as wel on the one part as on y^e
other, did altogether tend to the diminishing
& weakning of the forces of the realme. Our
sayde late brother knowing this, had at sun-
dry times assayed to qualifie the sharpnesse
of that inconuenience, by benignitie and cle-
mencie, indeuouring to bryng agayne the
hartes of his subiects to their due obedience
by gentlenesse, and to reconcile their willes
to good vnitie and con corde, whiche were at
oddes before, specially the yeere passed when
I was his Liefetenant generall before Ro-
chel: we following his mind and comman-
dement by the aduice and counsell of Prin-
ces, Lords & notable persons, which at that
time wer with vs, did the again accept y^e ge-
tle

3
the means of pacification, which we thought
most meetest, as the thing which we specially
desired, to be firme & durable, knowing that
the most part of y^e subiects of the realme, had
sufficiently tried, felt, & proued the miseries &
calamities which ciuill & inwarde war bring-
geth wth it. And y^e was y^e very cause, vpon hope
wherof, we tooke our iourney into Polande,
whither y^e states of the countrey (that alittle
before had elected vs for their king) did call
vs: whereas if we had thought that y^e warres
shuld haue sealed & rested so short a time, we
had not abandoned our said lord & brother, nor
yet y^e realm. But rather we wold haue pre-
ferred y^e conseruatiō & defence thereof, aboue
al aduancemēt or perticular benefite y^e could
touch vs or apertain vnto vs. Yet notwith-
standing some being seduced by euill counsel,
haue vnder diuers pretēces, renewed y^e troubles
and entred again into armes. Wherby it is
come to passe that the realme is immediatly
falne into y^e same malady of whiche it was
but newly crept out, & the means y^e had but
attēpted for the redress thereof, brought not
the fruite that was looked for, and desired.
Nowe for asmuche as it is the duetie of a
good king, as well as of a good father and

A. ij.

pastor,

4

pastor, to strayne him selfe to the uttermost
of his power, and to imploy all his doyngs
to the benefyte and preservation of those
whome God hath put vnder his charge,
specially at the beginning of his raigne. And
seeing that it hath pleased the deuine boun-
tie to call vs to the rule and gouernment of
this realme: We haue thought good, fyrst of
all to proue all meanes possible to byng
our subiectes agayne to the righte way by
gentle meanes, that they may lyue peace-
ably one with another in good vnitie and
concord, and yeld vs the obedience whiche by
all right they ought to do, as the thing whi-
che euery man of his owne parte ought of
right to desire and procure. Therefore to the
intent that all men may vnderstand our wil
and meaning, which tendeth to nothing but
the benefyte and comfort of the Realme and
our subiects : We haue sayd and declared,
and do say and declare, that all those whiche
heretofore haue risen and take armes against
our late Lorde and brother the king last de-
ceased, and against his authoritie and ours,
or haue absented the felues out of the Realme,
withdrawing them into strange countries
without

without our leave, and at this present will
lay a part armies, giue over the practises of
warre, returne home into their houses, leaue
vp and put into our obeysance the towncs
which they hold and occupy, and do as good
and loyall subiects ought to do to their king
and soueraigne Prince: they shall fynde vs
disposed and ready to admit and receyue the
into our good grace, with intention and
will to intreate them well, forgetting the
former things, and providing that neyther
presente nor to come, any of those of what
quality degree or condition so euer they be,
or for any cause that may bee pretended to
haue bin done by them during the troubles,
shall any way be disquieted, molested, or sit-
ted by vs or our officers, eyther in their per-
sons, goodes, or honours, but shall lyue in all
assurance, rest, and tranquillitie, both they,
they families, and posterities: assuring them
that if they will come or sende to vs to thys
ende, they shall do it with all suretie by ver-
tue of these presents, whiche shall serue them
for safeconduit, howbeit so as in their com-
ming towarde vs, they take safeconduites
and pasports of the gouernours and Liefete-
nants

6.
nants of the prouinces by which they passe,
whom we authorise & enioyn to do so without
refusall or let, commanding all gouernours
& captaines of places iusticers & officers, Shi-
reifs of towne, and other our subiectes, accor-
ding to their duties to let the passe in all saf-
tie towards vs, without giuing or suffering
to be giuen, any disturbance, molestation, or
impeachmēt. And if any of them be not dis-
posed to receiue & accept this our fauour, & to
vse y^e goodnesse & clemencie which we offer
the, but rather wil perseuer in their euil intēts
& purposes: the are we fully resolved to im-
ploy al the means which God hath put into
our hāds, to repress their insolencies, and to
bring their malapertnesse & rashnesse to rea-
son: wherin we hope & do promise our selfs,
y^e god (who knoweth our intent) wil of his
gracious goodnes fauour & ayd vs, to main-
tayne y^e authoritie which we acknowledge our
selues to hold of him: And y^e therewithal our
good and loyal subiects wil not forget their
duties & alleageāce which they haue alwayes
borne vs, to y^e end therfore the rather to put y^e
realme in quietnesse, & to reestablishe it in his
auncient greatnesse, dignity, & beautie: We
charge & cōmand al our Liefetenants gene-
rall,

7
ral, & gouernours of our prouinces, baylifes
Stewards & their deputies, to cause this pre-
sent Edict to be proclaimed in euery of their
gouernments, assemblies, & iurisdictions, & to
cōtinue y^e keeping & obseruing of y^e same in-
violable, w^out impeachmēt or suffering it to
be impeached in any sort or maner what so-
euer it be, expressely forbidding the officers of
our courtes of Parliamēts, to impeach it for
their part, & putting as wel thē as our solli-
citors & attorneys general & al other persons
vnto silence vpon y^e sight hereof, for so is our
pleasure. In witness wherof we haue cau-
sed our seals to be put to these presēts. Giue at
Lions the .x. day of Sept. the yere of grace
1574. & of our raign y^e first. Also signed vpon
y^e reply, by y^e king being in his counsell,
with whom there was also the Queene his
mother, my Lorde the Duke of Alanson his
brother, y^e king of Nauarre, the Cardinals of
Burbō, Lorein, & Gwyfes, y^e prince Dolphin,
y^e Dukes of Gwyse, Namors, and Mayne, y^e
Earle of Charnie, the great Esquire, y^e lordes
of Moruillier, of Valence, of Lansak, of Li-
moges, of Foys, of Bellieure, & of Monlake,
and other Lordes of his priue counsell then
present, Fizes. And sealed vpon double labels,
with the great scale in yellow waxe.

8
**The seconde Ediēt the
thirteenth of October.**



Enry by y grace
of God King of
France and Po-
lande, To al that
shall see this pre-
sent Ediēt, greet-
ing. Though at
oure commyng
into thys our
realm, & by our

letters pattēts signed with our hand the .x.
day of September last past, which was sent
vnto our gouernours, Liefetenants generall
in our prouinces, iudges and officers, to pu-
blishe the same, and to continue the exacte
maintayning and obseruing thereof, wee
haue playnely and particularly ynough de-
clared and opened the inward meaning and
intente of our harte, and the desyre that wee
haue to imbrace and receyue all our subiects
into our good fauour, which wil frame them
selues to their duetie, and yeld the obedience
that

that God and nature hath bounde them to,
 being very willing to forget all that is pas-
 sed : Yet notwithstanding bycause many of
 our subiects whiche be farre off, and within
 the towne and places possessed againste our
 authoritie, and peradventure not well ad-
 uertised and certified of our sayde meaning,
 or haue hadde it misreported vnto them by
 some whiche haue a will to mayntayne still
 these troubles and disorders for y^e particular
 profite and commoditie whiche they receyue
 by it, vnder colour that since our comming
 either we haue caused y^e Ritters, Swysers, and
 other forces to march in some prouinces of
 our realme, (whiche forces we found ready
 assembled to recouer the saide places with-
 holden against our sayde authoritie, and to
 open the passages of our prouinces,) inten-
 ding vnder that pretence to beare men in
 bande, that our meaning was not to pacifie
 the affayres of our realme, according to our
 declaration, although it be the onely thyng
 whiche we most chiefly seeke : and we lyke-
 wise haue bin aduertised that some of them
 haue delayed their comming or sending vn-
 to vs (to inioy the fauor whiche we haue of-

A. b.

fered

ferred them by our said Declaration, for feare of their liues, and for feare to be forced and constrained in their consciences, for that there was not expresse mention thereof in our sayde Declaration, notwithstanding we haue both hearde, and gently receyued all those which haue come vnto vs for that purpose.

And haue graunted perticular passports, and necessarie suerties to others, which haue giuen vs knowledge of their desire to doe the like: For these causes and other great considerations mouing vs therevnto, and to take wholly away al doubt and scrupulositie from our sayd subiectes, we haue sufficiently and as much as necessitie requireth, sayd and declared, and by these presentes signed with our hande, do say and declare, that our greatest care and desire, is to restore our sayde Realme in to the auncient estate of quietnesse and tranquillitie, by meanes of suche peace as we intende to giue to our subiectes, and the clemencie we purpose to vse towards them, forgetting all that is passed, without remembryng any part thereof, and intending that none of all our subiectes, of
what

11
what qualitie, degree, or condition so euer
they bee, or for what cause so euer may bee
pretended, to haue bene done and commit-
ted by them during the troubles, or by their
occasion, shall any way be disquieted, mo-
lested, or syfted by vs or our officers,
eyther in their persons, goodes, or honours,
but that they may lyue in their houses in all
assurance, rest, and tranquillitie, both they,
their families, and posterities. And there-
fore we folowing (& conforming our selues,
to our sayd first letters,) mynding moreouer
so greatly the benefit of peace, that we will
not in any wyse haue them syfted, distressed,
nor troubled for their consciences, but doe
utterly forbid it, and for the same wyll make
all necessarie prouision to be put in ready-
nesse.

And to the ende that those which are wil-
ling to come to vs to shewe vs their griefes,
may doe it safely, and so likewise returne :
We will that these presents shall serue them
for safeconduct. Provided alwayes, that
as well for theyr comming as theyr going,
they take safeconductes and Pasportes of
the gouernours and Lieutenantes generall
of

of our prouinces by which they passe. Whom
 we commaunde to deliuer y^e same vnto the
 without refuse or delay. Enioynning also all
 gouernours & Captaynes of places, our iu-
 sticers and officers, Sherifes of Townes
 and other our subiectes, according to theyr
 dueties, to suffer all suche travellers to come
 and goe safely, without giuing or suffering
 to be giuen any molestation or impeache-
 ment. And we promise in the faith and word
 of a king, and vpon our honor, to accomplish
 and performe that which is by these presents
 and shall be by vs after accorded and assu-
 red: And for more greater suretie it shall be
 allowed and approued as matter of recorde
 throughtout all the courtes of Parliamentes
 of our Realm, by the Princes of our blood,
 Lordes, Gentlemen, Mayors, Sherifes, and
 principall dwellers of oure Townes, and
 others, if neede shall require. Thus wee
 gyue commaundemente to our trusty and
 welbeloued officers of our Courtes of Par-
 liamentes, and our sayde Liefetenantes ge-
 nerall, gouernours, Baylifes, Stewardes,
 and other deputies, to keepe and obserue in-
 uiolably these presentes, without contradic-
 tion

tion or suffering any contradiction in what
 sort or manner soever it be : putting our at-
 turney generall and all others vnto silence:
 For so is our pleasure. In witness whereof
 we have caused our seale to be put to these
 presentes. Given at Lions the thirtieth
 day of October in the yeare of grace. 1574.
 and of our raigne the first :

So signed, HENRY:

And vpon the reply, By the king, be-
 ing in his counsell at Neufville.

And sealed with double labels in yel-
 lowe ware.



-14-

*A declaration to the most
Christian king, Henric the
thirde of that name, king of
Fraunce and Poland.*



Pr. the two E-
dictes that your
maiestie hath cau-
sed to be publi-
shed since youre
newe comming
to the Crowne,
(which G D
make prosperous
vnto you) doe make great shewe, that your
sayde Maiestie is desirous to see a good
peace in France. And truly, al good people do
greatly praise God, for the good wil & father-
ly affection, that he hath put into your heart
towards your sayde subiects, and desire that
the same may there take so deepe and lively
roote, as it may utter it selfe more and more
in deede and effect. But (according to your
sayd Maiesties complaint in the last of those
Edictes) many are so full of mistrust, as
they can hardly beleue such affection of peace.
to

15
to be yet thoroughly imprinted in your heart,
the rather for that they see your Maiestie to
make warre against them, to whom you say
you intende to giue peace: in so much that,
seeing on the one side a pretence of your will
tending to peace, and on the other side, an ex-
ecution of warre, they knowe not what to
determine thereof. Some say, they must rest
them selues rather on the deede, than on the
word, paper or ynke. Other some thinke that
the worde and promise of a King, is ground
sufficient to rest vppon, excusing your
Maiesties making of warre, with the same
excuse that is contayned in your last Edit,
that is to say, that your Maiestie assembled
not those forces, but hauing found them rea-
die furnished at your coming to the crown,
thought it more requisite to imploy them,
than to suffer them to be idle, specially seeing
that the entertaining of them was so charge-
able, & they must needs be payd whether they
serue or no. Some say moreouer, that what so
euer your Maiestie hath done touching the
execution of war, was but to sharpen mens
appetites vnto peace, which held your towne
in their hands, & were in armes against you.
bycause

bycause feare is a ready meane to make the
 weaker craue peace of the stronger. Other-
 some say further, that a noble prince oughte
 to behaue him selfe mildly towarde such
 as humble them selues vnder his obeyfance,
 and to tame and repress such as make resis-
 tance against him: and that therefore your
 Maiestie hath iust cause to make warre a-
 gainst those your subiects, whiche will not
 yeld you their obedience, to whome neuer-
 thelesse ye would giue peace, if they would
 put off armor & desire it of you with hum-
 blenesse. But (to speake the trueth) all these
 reasons can not make the greater number,
 to hazard them selues by beleewing the con-
 trary (say they) to that which they haue scene
 and yet doe see with their eyes. And especi-
 ally those that be in armes, who thinke yee
 meane to make of them a matter seruiceable
 to your glozy and triumph. (as did the an-
 cient Emperours those barbarous nations
 whom they subdued.) And they ground their
 beleefe vpon your first Edict, by the whyche
 your said Maiestie seemeth to take for great
 victorie and matter of triumph, the lamen-
 table aduentures happened in the warres
 passed,

17
passed, in the late king your brothers tyme,
against those that named them selues your
subiectes, and were in deede frenchmen
borne. Again they graunt that a prince ought
to repressse and tame suche as will not obey
him, and that God and nature doe teache vs
to obey our princes, and soueraigne Lordes:
but they also say, that God and nature doe
likewise teach vs to preserve our liues, and
y^e to the obedience due to princes ought to be
ioyned the assurance of the subiectes liues,
which should not be taken away, but by or-
der of lawe: and that if they were assured
of that point vpon any other pledges than
paper and ynke, there were nothing in the
world that they would more willingly do,
than the yelding vnto you theyr whole obe-
dience and seruice: and that therefore they
are not to bee accounted as traytors and
rebels though they submit not themselves
without assurance of their liues, bycause the
former time serueth them for a sufficient ex-
ample and lesson to learne by the harmes of
their kinsfolke & friends, neyther to be light
of beleefe, nor to hazard their liues but vpon
good warrant. They furder discourse here-

B.

of in

18
of in many other sortes, your Maiestie may well consider, that to such as live in feare of their liues, all things are holden suspect. For some, bycause their selues are desirous of peace, are easily perswaded that your maiestie desireth the same: and othersome for the doubt they stand in of their liues, are loth to beleue any thing: and all generally hang in the ballance betwene hope and dread, and knowe not what to trust vnto, nor whiche way to turne them.

Now sir, seeing the world in this maner is tossed, I haue aduentured to take vpon me the humble presentment of this little declaration vnto your maiestie, thereby to giue you knowledge of thre points of great importance, whiche I intende to verifie by examples notable and worthy of memorie. One is, that neuer Prince founde it good to make warre againste his subiectes, nor to deale rigorously and cruelly with them. Another is, that a good peace would not onely make your realme of France to flourish, and your poore subiects to prosper, which are now at the last cast: but also make you the greatest king that euer was in France, yea without exceptiō of Charlemaine, Clowis, or any other.

other. And y^e third point is, that a good peace
is not so impossible to bee made as many
iudge it to be. But before I enter into y^e dis-
course of these three points, I wil here recite
one historie much to y^e purpose of my former
saying y^e the poore pretended rebels are in such
wise tossed betweene hope and dread, as they
know not where they are. And God graunt
your maiesty a willing desire, to folow the
exāple of this historie which I shall declare.

The Romanes had in times past muche
war with the Latines which were their ney-
bors, & (as it were) subiect to the by reason of
their neere neighborhood. But the Romanes
(having overcome them in many battles)
would needes constrayne them, to the yield-
ding of a good part of their goodes and pos-
sessions, by way of an amendes making, for
that the Latines had broken the treatie of the
associatiō, & were becom rebels against the.
The poore Latines being sore troubled & per-
plexed, knew not which way to wind them, for
it greeued the extremely to indure so great
a losse, ioyned with suche Shame and disho-
nour, & on the other side they sawe no meane
left them whereby to maintaine the warres
any longer. Herevpon, one Furius Camillus,

20 61
a brave and valiant Captaine, and then Cō-
sull of Rome, declared to the senate that hee
knew a very good & an assured meanes, how
to make, that the Latins shoulde never after
that rise up in armes against the Romaines,
but ever live in peace and fidelitie togyther
with them. Then demaunded they of hym
what that meanes was. Even this sayde he,
that nowe when they are vanquished and
so troubled as they knowe not what to doe,
we receyue them for Citizens of Rome as
our selues, to enjoy y^e like profit, commo-
dities and privileges as we do: for they looke
not for so great a benefite at our handes, but
prepare them selues, both to doe and receyue
all hostility. And herein is offered vnto vs a
very faire occasion to increase oure glory,
whiche wee oughte not to let slippe, bycause
there is not a surer nor a longer lasting go-
uernemēt, than that which is plausible vnto
the governed. But we must make hast, to
the intente that nowe while they looke for
warre, and prepare for it, we may prevent
them with so great a benefyte. When Ca-
millus had so put forth his mind and opini-
on, the voices ranne, whereof the greater nū-
ber

ber stayed vppon his sayings, and his aduice
 was followed, for the receyuing of the La-
 tins to be Citizens of Rome, to the enioying
 of the like rightes and priuileges as the Ci-
 tizens did. And from that tyme forwarde
 they were alwayes so firmly vnited to the
 Romanes, as there was neuer any warre or
 deuision betweene them. Now then if your
 Maiestie would vouchsafe to imitate this
 noble and honorable manner of taking per-
 petuall peace with the poore pretended Re-
 bels (which are your subiects) your goodnes,
 gentlenesse, and liberalitie shewed towards
 them which deserue it not, would very gret-
 ly increase your glory. And so much y^e grea-
 ter would the benefyte be, bycause they looke
 not for it, but are vtterly perswaded y^e youre
 maiestie wil either haue no peace at al, or else
 such a peace as shal only tend to your owne
 aduantage. And therefore they be fully bent
 rather to endure all extremitie, than to trust
 any moze to those fruitelesse peaces (whiche
 they cal Paix fourrees, & wherewith (say they)
 they haue alwayes heretofore bin entrapped.

I wil herevppon recite one other historie
 muche to the purpose. In the time that the

B. iij.

Romanes

15 22
i. Liuius
b. 9. deca. I.

Romanes were at war with the Samnites,
(a warlike people) it happened that Porcius
and Veturius consuls and captaynes of
the Romanne armie, were by occasion of
small conduct, enclosed in a strait of disad-
uantage. And for lacke of a better remedy,
they entred into an entreaty of peace with
the Samnites, which to in that strait held
them enclosed. The Captain generall of the
Samnites was a braue yong gentelman na-
med Pontius, whose father called Hieremi-
us, had of long time governed the state of the
Samnites. The aduice of this good old man
was asked for the making of peace: he an-
swered that they must let goe the Romans
whom they held already couped up as Cap-
tines, without any harme or violence. This
aduice was not very well liked of by Porcius
his sonne, which askes him whether
he knew no better way than that, for
bringing of y peace to passe. To whom the good
olds man answered, that if they misliked of
that his first opinion, his next aduice was,
that they should kill all the Romanes which
they held then enclosed, without suffering of
any one of them to escape. For (said he) there
is betwene both no meane, that may auaille
to the winning of a good peace, y same must
of

of necessitie be gotten either by the vertue of
 some benefite bestowed vpon the enemye, or
 else by the so weakening of them (through the
 putting of the whole armie to the sword) as
 in a long time after they shall not be able to
 recouer again their force. Neither y^e one nor
 the other of this good mans opinions were
 followed, but in the ende a dissimuled peace
 was made, whiche was not only shamefull
 to the Romanes, but also by them inconti-
 nently broken to the vtter ruine & decay of
 the Samnites, whiche vnderstood in the ende,
 y^e the counsell of the good old Herennius had
 bin the best to haue bin folowed. Hereof fir I
 mean to cōclude, that for asmuch as the Hu-
 gonots cannot al be enclosed in one straye, &
 that if they could, to kil them al (being your
 subiects & not your enemies) it were a thing
 neither reasonable nor cōueniēt: ye could not
 do better, than to agree to suche a peace, as
 might to each parte be both profitable and a-
 greeable, which would cause it to be of con-
 tinuāce. In this respect y^e great warrior Hā-
 niball demanded peace of the valiant & hap-
 py Scipio after this maner. It is I Hānibal
 y^e do demaund the peace, which I would not
 demaunde if it might not be profitable, and
 hauing obteyned such a one I wil willingly
 B. iij. keepe

ionifius
alic. lib. 3.

keepe it, for the very same profit for the which
I required it: for to bee shorte, a good peace
ought not to be made in hast, but rather to be
digested with meere deliberation, looking to
none other end, than the profite of the com-
mon weale. And for this cause was it by
Tullus Hostilius king of the Romanes saide,
that the mutual entercourse of commodities,
was the true band of peace.

But coming now to intreat of those three
points whiche before I proponed, as subiect
to this declaration. Touching the first, whi-
che is, y a prince ought not to take in hand
y making of wars against his subiects: I set
dow for a true cōsequēce y a people do ne-
uer die. The perticulars of seuerall parts of y
same do die in deede, but they leaue alwayes
behind such as do succede them not only in
their inheritāces, but also in their quarrels &
passions: so as seldome or neuer dieth ther a-
ny so very a caytife & vnfortunate wretche y
leaueth not another (yea two or thre, cyther
children, bryethen, parēts or frīeds) which wil
be sorie for his death, & seeke reuēgemēt of it
if it wer violētly procured. Wherefore, who
soever hath to do w a people, by killing of y
perticulars profiteth litile, bicause they leaue
alwaies

4w

39

25
alwaies to succede the such as are (as it were)
maried to their quarels. The same is at thys
day to be sene by y^e Gospellers (so do I tearm
them in stead of Hugonots, and catholikes in
stead of Papists, as did y^e Lord of Valence in
his declaratiō made to y^e Poloniās: for with-
in these. xv yerres, what by the warres, what
by iustice, and what by murthers, there hath
bene done to death moze than 200000. and
yet for all that, there are still so great a num-
ber of them, as it may seeme there hath not
any one dyed. There is very apparant reason
why it should be so: namely for that a peo-
ple dyeth not, bicause the perticulars haue al-
wayes other perticulars to succede them, not
onely in their inheritances, but also in theyr
maners, instructions, and other conditions.
But contrarywise, the great Princes dye, as
the late king your brother is deade, and ma-
ny of his best seruitors are deade, your selfe
also are mortall, and your best seruitors be
mortall, wherthrougħ it is commonly seene,
y^e great mens great deuices banish away in
the smoake, bycause that for the moste parte
their successours are not of the same humo-
r and will, but vse their gouernment farre o-
therwise, the one vndoing what by the other
was

B.b.

was

ni domus
cibacola

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was done. In so much as it is sene that ordi-
narily they pull downe, whome their prede-
cessours had set vp. Whereof among others,
master Enguerran of Marigny may be a wit-
nesse, which hauing bin in great credite and
authoritie, in the time of king Philip the
faire : was by his brother and successor king
Lewes Hutin so abased, as he therethrough
became a poore man, without any cause ap-
parant, other than for the enuie & hate borne
to the greatnesse that he had gotten. Also the
wise Courtiers (which will not their liues,
honors, and goods, to depend vpon the life of
one onely man) are accustomed not onely to
please him that presently raigneth, but also
him that is like to succede him. For as Pom-
pey said vnto Scilla, there be moe that doe
worship y^e sunne rising, thā y^e sunne setting.

Alexander the great did in his time many
wonderful & incredible things. For with an
armie of .30000. Macedons, he ouercam Da-
rius y^e great monarch of al the east leuant in
three battels. In the first wherof Darius had
300000. mē, which was twentie against one
In the .2. he had .600000. which was .20. a-
gainst one. And in the third, he had a Millio,
which was thirtie against one. He subdued
all

Plutarch in
Alexandro.

27
al the Empire of Darius, as the Persians, the Medes, the Parthians, the Armenians, the Babylonians, with Egypt, Palestine, and Syria, and generally all the lande habitable of Europe and Asi, from Macedonie eastwarde unto India. But all those faire conquestes vanished like smoke, and in the ende came to nothing, for he him selfe died yong, and left not successors of like noblenesse and valiauntie as he was. Whereupon Titus Livijs putteth forth this question. If Alexander the great had taken in hande the warres of his time against the Romanes, whether he should as easily have overcome them as he did Darius? he answereth no. For though (saith he) Alexander was a valiant king, and a stout & braue warrior: yet was he but one: & in hauing to do with Darius, he had to do but with one head. Where, had he had to do with the Romanes, he must haue fought with a number of braue Captaines one after another. As Valerius Corvinus, Martius Rutilius, Caius Sulpicius, Manlius Torquatus, Publius Philo, Papirius Cursor, Fabius Maximus, Lucius Volumnius, the two Decians, Marcus Curius, and many other, which would from hand to

Liuius lib. 9.
deca. 1.

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to hande haue receyued him, so as he shoulde
haue knowne that they vnderstode the my-
series of the warres. And as concerning
Councell, Alexander whiche was a yong
Prince, could haue no better than they, that
were guided by the heades of a whole Se-
nate. The conclusion (saith Titus Livius) is,
That the Macedons had but one Alexander,
but the Romanes had many captaines which
woulde haue matched him, of whome euerie
one shoulde haue liued, and dyed without pe-
rill or danger to the state publike: Whereas
by the death of Alexander, the state of his
Monarch was rent and torne in peeces.

The experience of this discourse of Titus
Livius, was well seene in the warres that
Hannibal had against the Romanes. For he
was a wise and valiaunt Captaine, and
knewe as well howe to guide his armie
as when to fight. Neyther was he ignorant
of the stratagemes or policies of warre. And
indeede he ouerthrew many of the Romane
Captaines, as Flamminius, Paulus Emilius,
Terencius Varro, Marcellus, and many o-
ther. But in the ende he was repulled by
Claudius Nero, Fabius Maximus, and other,
and

Ti. Livius
lib. 2. dec. 1.

29 08
and last of all so vtterly ouerthrowne by the
great Scipio the Affricane, as he founde well
that it was no small thing, to haue to doe
with a people, which do dayly breed newe
Captaines and men of warr. And that wel
the perticulars of a people may be vanqui-
shed and ouerthrowne, but the whole people
neuer. According to this saying of the philo-
sophers: A generall kinde is immortall, by
reason of the succession of perticulars (which
succeede one another) though euerie perti-
cular in it selfe be mortall. And this reason
aduiseth a Prince, not onely to forbear to
strive with his people: but also to shunne the
euill will of them, for feare of after clappes.
The Emperour Caius Caligula, in his time
put to death many of his subiects, euen of the
chiefest, most comunly for his owne plea-
sure without lawfull cause, and namely
those which founde any faulte with his do-
ings and gouernment, thinking by that
meanes to haue made away all that hated
him, & imagining (though fondly) that with
crueltie he might auoyd hatred, wherewith
crueltie is ordinarily and woorthly accom-
panied. But the more he caused to dye, the
more

Suetō in. Cal-
lig. cap. 30. 32.
49. 56. Dion
ibid.

more his haters encreased, and by the kylling
of one, he gat the hatred of tenne, in so much
that perceyuing him selfe to be hated of all
his people, he wished that all the people of
Rome had had but one hed, wherby he ment,
that if he had could, he wold haue dispatched
thē al at one stroke. But at the last experiēce
taught him, that a people hath many heades
(which dayly multiply) where hee had but
one, by the taking wherof from him, he was
miserably slayne. For although by being
Emperour of the worlde, he was of great
power : yet was the power of the people
founde to be greater than his.

Capitolinus
in Maximino.

This was well declared in a Comedie to
the great Emperour Maximine, great I say
of stature, (for he was in length eyght foote,
and in bignesse thereunto accordant, but in
vertue verie small. This Emperour was of
personage so strong, as with one blowe of
his fist hee strake out the teeth of an horse,
with one spurne of his foote he burst in sun-
der a horses legge, and with both his handes
he pluckt a horses hore in sunder. With y^e na-
tural force, he had also y^e force of y^e Romane
Empire at cōmaundement, so as he thought
him

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him selfe to be inuincible and immortall.
And therefore as one carelesse of the peoples
displeasure, he put to death many gentlemen
and other persons of credite, partly for his
pleasure, and partly for the enuie that he bare
vnto their vertues. Therefore as he was one
day in the Theatre beholding the playing of
a Commedie, one of the players with a good
countenance, sayde aloude as foloweth.

Whom one alone could neuer hurt, a number may confound,
The huge and mightie Elyphant, is so borne downe to ground:
The princely Lion, though he be vnfeareful, strong and stout,
Is notwithstanding ouerthrowne, and killed by a rout.
The cruell Tygre so is left starke deade vpon the ground,
For al his fell and furious moode, that passeth for no wound.
And thou that standest in no feare of any one alone,
At leastwise feare the common rage of many knit in one.

Maximine perceyued not that this player
had cast these verses as it were a stone into
his garden. Or if he did perceiue, yet did he
dissemble it, but within a while after, hee
found what so was sayde in iest, toward him
to turne to good earnest. For after he had ex-
ercised many cruelties, and therein done to
death moe than .4000. Gentlemen without
order of iustice, he was of all his subiectes so
mislyked, as (leading an armie against the
towne of Aquilee) the whole countrey con-
spired.

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spired to keepe him from victuals, (notwithstanding any commaundement by him put forth to the contrarie) by reason whereof the souldiers (being pinched with famine) conceived a hatred against him, and began to grudge at him, and so at the last murdered him. The auncient Romanes would alwayes seeme invincible against strangers, but never against their owne people. The chiefe of whom were esteemed amongst them as the heade, and the meane sort as the members. And if at any time the commons were falne into any mutenie, the heads incōtinent went about to appease them by gentlenesse, often thinking good, rather to yeelde them what so ever they demaunded, than to assay to daunt them by any force of armes. One time the people, rose by reason of the great rygoure that the bankers and vsurers (to whome they ought money) vsed against thē. By and by the Consuls assembled their Senate, to be advised howe that tumult of the people might be appeased. After the matter had bene propounded, and some speeches passed of it, Appius Claudius (a severe man) was of opinion that the bandes of the bankers and
vsurers

Ti. Liuius
lib. 2. deca. 1.

blurers ought and were to be payd, and that
 such a libertie was not to be let open, as the
 suffering of the people to breake their con-
 tractes whereunto they were bounde, but
 that they ought rather by force to be compell-
 ed to performe them. And that if they wold
 punish some of the ringleaders and most se-
 ditionous persons, that had of that mutenie bin
 the first mouers, al the residue wold thinke
 and be so discouraged, that hardly shoulde
 there any be founde, that would at any time
 after that, become a captaine to the commons,
 or any motioner of sedition. On the con-
 trary part, the Consull Seruilius was of opi-
 nion that the sedition was to be appeased by
 gentle meanes, saying, that it is much easier
 to bowe a people than to breake them, and
 that for the conseruation of the common
 weale, the gentle meanes is much surer than
 the rigorous, bycause if that rigour take not
 good successe, the people become madde, and
 vtter vnsuduable. By the decree of the Se-
 nate the aduice of Seruilius was followed,
 that they shoulde rather cathe sure, than to co-
 mit to hazard the estate of the publike weale,
 and for a time the exaction of the handes,

C.

(where

spired to keepe him from victuals, (notwithstanding any commaundement by him put forth to the contrarie) by reason whereof the souldiers (being pinched with famine) conceived a hatred against him, and began to grudge at him, and so at the last murdered him. The auncient Romanes would alwayes seeme invincible against strangers, but never against their owne people. The chiefe of whom were esteemed amongst them as the heade, and the meane sort as the members. And if at any time the commons were falne into any mutenie, the heads incōtinent went about to appease them by gentlenesse, often thinking good, rather to yeelde them what so euer they demaunded, than to assay to daunt them by any force of armes. On a time the people, rose by reason of the great rygoure that the bankers and vsurers (to whome they ought money) used against thē. By and by the Consuls assembled their Senate, to be advised howe that tumult of the people might be appeased. After the matter had bene propounded, and some speeches passed of it, Appius Claudius (a severe man) was of opinion that the bandes of the bankers and vsurers

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lib. 2. deca. 1.

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 good successe, the people become madde, and
 vtter insubduable. By the decree of the Se-
 nate the aduice of Seruilius was followed,
 that they shoulde rather carde sure, than to co-
 mit to hazard the estate of the publike weale,
 and for a time the exaction of the handes,
 C. (where

Ti. Liuius
lib. eodem.

(whereupon the bankers and other had lent money vpon interest to the people) were suspended. Within a while after, certaine of the chiefest in Rome, caused one of the Tribunes of the people (whiche was (as it were) the maintayner of y^e liberties of the third estate) to be slayne as secretly as coulde be, bycause that vnder the colour of his office, hee had gone about to moue the people to sedition. The people were sore griued at the death of their Tribune: but they sayd nothing to it, bycause they knewe not to whose charge to lay it, nor whom to blame for it. The noble men (which had caused that blowe to be giuen) were verie well apayde, that the people durst not open their lippes at it, thinking the selues to haue vsed a verie good mean of preventing the sedition, and that other Tribunes therby, would take example of it hereafter: They thought surely, that by their causing of the chiefe mouer of the sedition to be slayne, they had taken away the cause of sedition. But in verie deepe, they had not the principall efficient cause, that is to say, the rancour, discontentment, and indignation of the people, but they had rather increased it
by

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by such bruta'full execution. What became
thereof? It happened anon after, that there
were certain souldiers to be leuyed in Rome
for a peece of service that the Romans
had in hande, and euerie man thought that
the death of the Tribune had then bin falne
aslape, and for euer forgotten. The Consuls
commanded one Males (a man of the third
estate, that had before bene captain of cre-
tatur' for men) to put his companie in a reg-
iment: he answered that he would not.
Then the Emilius and Valerius then Con-
suls, sent certaine Herenians to arrest him,
and to carrie him to prison: But he escaping
the hands of the Herenians, call himself into
a throng of the people, and crying out for
succour sayde; Whither shall I stand to see
if I can without looking on the sup'ior hol-
pen of the Tribune, who dare not see any
thing, if it be put to death for doing
of their duties: Al godd those two dies of his,
notwithstanding that the Consuls did what
they could to appease that: And thus, some of
them ran upon the streets, who being well
buffeted, and having their muscles broken, did
with much ado recover the Gallare where
they lay

C. ij.

the

the Senatours were assembled. Then began they to fall to consultation, howe that vppore might be remedied. Many speaking rigorously, sayd, that such boldnesse and rashnesse of the people was to be repressed with force & severitie. But the auncient and wisest Senatours, which were of opinion that it was not meete for the head to subdue the members by violence (but rather by curtesie & gentlenesse) prevailed in that counsell. For they knewe wel that they had already done too much, in causing the Tribune to be slaine without order of iustice, (although he had deserved it) & in offering that extremitie so rashly to Valero, and that in such common misorders, the speediest remedies are the surest and holdest. I will reaccount one example more of this gentle maner of proceeding, which for the appeasing of tumults and civil seditions, the ancient Romanes liked to vse, because it is a point both worthy the marking, & appertinent to our purpose. It fell out one day in Rome that amongst the people there was so great a mutenie, as the commons would be needs separat them selves from the nobilitie, taking occasiō therinto, through the grievous burthens

burthens of their imposts, subsidies, & other
 like exactions. And it went so far, as the po-
 rest and meanest of the people, did separate
 them selues from the rich and noble, and for-
 sooke their houses to dwell elsewhere, howbeit
 without quarelling among the selues. When
 this matter came in questio, by what meanes
 the sayd mutenie might best be stayed, and
 the people framed and brought to the yelding
 of their obedience towards their superiours
 and magistrates: amongst the Senatours
 ran two opinions, one contrarie to the other.
 The one was of Appius Claudius, a man be-
 ry seuer and rygorous against the common
 people: whose opinion was, that there was
 no yelding to the common people, whose na-
 ture is such (sayde he) if it were not bydeled,
 would waxe stubborne & proud, & the gra-
 ting of any thing vnto them vnder colour of
 this sedition, would be a maintenance & fur-
 derance of other rashnesse and boldnesse, and
 an occasio to make them doe the like another
 time: and therefore they were to be subdued
 by rygour and force. This opinion of Appius
 at the first sight was alowed and followed
 of the yong Senators, whose bloude was

as hote & fierce, as their discretions were cold
 and vnstayed. The other opinion was of
 Menenius Agrippa, a very good man, care-
 less, of good reputation, and of a right noble
 house, (but poor & a despiser of riches) which
 sayde, that the publike affaires were as the
 body of a man, from the which the good Citi-
 zenship doth not by & by cut off the member
 that hath an ulcer or impostume, but rather
 deuise, how he may with good and wise re-
 medies heale it. Adding also, that experience
 alwayes sheweth the nature of a people, to
 become tractable by good and gentle dea-
 ling, and the moste modest and myldest, to
 become fierce with rude and rygorous hand-
 ling, no more nor lesse than a wilde beast, be-
 ing enticed and flattered becometh tame, &
 the same being beate & cruelly intreated, be-
 cometh wilde. And that they ought by bea-
 ring with y^e people, & hearing of their plaints
 and griefes to win their hearts, and by gen-
 tle and favourable means to bring the backe
 againe to their obedience. This opinion of
 Menenius was followed by those ancient
 wise Senators, that were well practised in
 the gouernment of the common affaires, in
 whom

whome also sone after agreed the yonger
 sort, somewhat ashamed to haue holdē cōtra-
 rie opinion to their auncients in peeres and
 iudgement. And they excused them selues of
 it by the mouth of one of thē named Spurius
 Nautius, who desired the auncient to holde
 their yonth excused, which is not lightly ac-
 companied with stayed iudgement, assuring
 them by their folowing of the opinion of Ap-
 pius, proceeded rather of a boyling and vnad-
 uised affection, & not of purpose to stand vpon
 termes with thē, promising from thenceforth
 to flee the falling into any such fault, and to
 be conformable to the iudgement of the el-
 ders, as men of more wisdom and greater
 experience. The yong Senators were much
 prayled, as wel for the reuoking of their opi-
 nion, as for their so curteous excusing of the
 selues, and so Appius remayned alone in his
 rigorous iudgements And charge was giuen
 by the Senate to Menenius to make known
 their good will to the people, which he did in
 such curteous manner, and with so sweete
 words, that he not only won their hearts, but
 also abated their furie and fiercenesse of cou-
 rage. My maisters (saith he) the Senate hath

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neither done you harme, nor meane to doe
you any. They are as it were the belly, and
you the members of the body: and shoulde
the members complayne them, that what
they labour for is all for the belly? Is it not
the belly that nourisheth, mayntaineth, and
keepeth the members, being (as it were) the
storehouse or Garner of all the whole body?
When the belly taketh and receyueth suste-
naunce and nourishment, doth it keepe it
altogether to it selfe? dothe it not rather dis-
perse it throught the whole bodie, euen to the
fingers of the handes, and to the toes of the
feete, which are furthest off from it? Do we
not see that the nourishment which it gathe-
reth, serueth not for it selfe alone, but for the
whole body? And euen in like sorte doth the
Senate employ those things which they de-
maunde and gather of you. The Tributes
and Subsidies that they leuie and receyue,
are they not to be employed for the service
of the whole bodie of the common wealth?
Cease then my maisters to complayne you
of your superiours and Magistrates, which
do nothing but for you and for your con-
seruations. Whereof doe you complaine
you,

you, and the cause of your complaint shal be
 taken away (for a malady cannot better bee
 cured than by the taking away of the cause.)
 All things shal be yeilded you that shal bee
 founde profitable and necessary to the whole
 body of the common weale, which bande of
 commō profit shal be one mean of assurāce
 to conserue the one with the other: and the
 publique othe whiche shal be sworne vnto
 you, shal also bee another good guage.
 By this oratiō and declaration of this good
 man Menenius, were the people appeased,
 their harts wonne, and them selues reconcil-
 led and brought againe vnder the obedience
 of their superiours and magistrates, and a-
 boue all, he was greatly commended for his
 sweete manner of speaking, but especially in
 that hee compared the Senate rather to the
 belly than to the head, to shew that they were
 rather fathers and nourishers than any hau-
 tie rulers ouer the people. It is then a thyng
 very certaine, that the manner of appeasing
 the people by gentlenes and profit, (and not
 by making them warre) is the true mean to
 bring and hold them vnder obedience as it is
 also for the appeasing of troubles and sediti-
 ons.

Suetonius
in Nerone
ca. 38. 40.
42. 47. 48.
49. Dion c-
odem.

ons. Nero that was Emperour of the Ro-
maynes, would needes make warre against
his subiectes, not by preparing an army a-
gainst them, but by causing an infinite nu-
ber of them to be slayne and murthred one
after another, only for his pleasure sake. For
the whiche also he set on fire the four corners
of Rome, to the end to haue burned y whole
towne, whereof in deede he burned a good
part. And when he had done, he made pre-
tence that he did it to haue buylded it newe
agayn, for the doing wherof, he laid so great
tributes and subsidies vpon al the prouinces
of the Empire, that hee sucked the drie with
his fines. These cruelties and oppressions, so
wonne him the euill will of all his subiectes,
as they one after another reuolted from his
obeylance. And him selfe in the end being a-
bandoned of euery one, (yea euen of those of
his owne guard) fled and hid him in a little
lodge in the fields where he was discouered,
and fearing to be taken alive, killed himself.
Galba succeeded him in the Empire. But
seing I am entred into the making of some
discourse concerning the Emperour Nero,
I will make a little digression which shall
not

Suetonius
& Dion in
Nero. Cor.
Tacitus
Annalium
libr. 13. 14.

not be impertinent nor out of my purpose.
 This Emperour being the last of the house
 of Cæsars, was as vicious, wicked, and
 cruell, as the first (whiche was Iulius Cæsar)
 was vertuous, good, and gentle. The re-
 compting of the legend of his wicked lyfe,
 woulde require too long a time: but it shall
 suffice me to tell how he dealt with his best
 seruants, and what he gayned by suche dea-
 ling. He had then many noble and good ser-
 uitors, whiche as long as he trusted them,
 were to him very louing and faithfull, but
 when they once sawe hym to become mi-
 strustfull of their doings, their fidelities be-
 gan to wauer & diminish, for fearing least
 he shoulde execute like crueltie vpon them, as
 he had done vpon many others that had de-
 serued it. Among other he had seuen al right
 grane and excellent personages that were
 his most speciall seruantes, and by him em-
 ployde in the greatest charges of his empire.
 That is to saye Seneca, whiche in his youth
 had bin his tutor and gouernour, and was
 (as it were) the superintendent of all the af-
 fayres of the Empire. Ruffus whiche was
 his Constable and great master of his hous-
 hold.

hold. Subrius Flavius whiche was captayne
 generall of his guardes. Sulpicius after one
 of his darlings and one of y^e principal Cap-
 taines of the same guard. Corbulo whiche
 was his liefetenāt in the east parts, and cap-
 tayne generall ouer the Romaine army, a-
 gainst the Parthes, who was a valiant war-
 riour and did noble acts againste Terida-
 res Vologesus, and other kings in the East,
 wherethrough he gat greate honour and re-
 putation throughout the worlde. Vindex
 whiche was likewise his Liefetenant gene-
 rall and gouernour in the gouernemente of
 Gaul, a great and mightie prouince, contey-
 ning all that whiche is now the realme of
 France with base Alemaigne on this side the
 Rhine, the low cuntrey of Flanders, Brabant
 and Henalt, even vnto the sea: Switzerlande,
 Sauoye, Piedinont and Lombardy even to
 Reniui where there is a little floud called in
 olde time Rubicon, that separateth Gaule
 Cisalpine fro Italy. Also Sergius Galba was
 his Liefテナunt generall and gouernour in
 Spaine, Portingale and Granade, whiche
 likewise was a very great government that
 comprehendeth at this daye seven or eyght
 realmes.

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realmes. And this Galba was a wise and valiant capitaine, but greatly stricken in yeares, for hee was. lxxiij. yeeres olde when Nero died. These seuen great Lordes were good and louing seruants to Nero, til such time as he became so wicked, & so far past al goodnes, as he was no longer to be borne withal. His corruption came chiefly by the means of Agrippine his mother, which would needs gouerne & manage al the affayres of the Empire (so ambitious shee was and desirous to comaund.) But this was the mischief, that Seneca suffered himselfe to be wonne by hir. For she was a faire wel favoured princes, & with hir entred he into so great familiaritie, as he enioyed hir secretly. They two then (to the end that al things shoulde passe through their handes) perswaded Nero (whiche was a yong prince) to take his pleasures & sports, and to leaue vnto them the charge and paine of the publique affayres, thinking that the furie of his youth woulde weare away his fond delights and pastimes, and that wisdom would increase with his age, and that in the meane time they shoulde better gouerne than hee. Of the same opinion was

Burrus

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Burrus a singular person, and next unto Seneca in the weightie causes of gouernment. And surely about the space of five yeeres, they gouerned the Empire reasonably well. Howbeit; bycause Agrippine took upon hir to rule all alone after hir owne appetite, these two persons Seneca and Burrus, took order out of hand, that the Emperour should withdraw some parte of the gouernment fro hir, and not suffer hir to deale any more with it. But as wisemen as they were, yet were they greatly deceyued; in that they thought the Emperour Nero should in age become wise by passing his youth in follies: for it happened cleane contrary, and he became a most wicked and cruel tyrant. And truly it is not to be beleueed, that Seneca whiche was so sage & so greates a philosopher; was ignorant that of a dissolute life in youthe, Nero could not gather ought else: than an euill inclination in age, and that his continuance in riot and voluptuousnesse (copied with a princes libertie) could not otherwise do, than drawe him to a marvelous corruption. But to say the truth; Seneca was puffed up with ambition and desire of soueraintie,
not

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notwithstanding that in his wordes, & wri-
tings, he detested it most of all men, for hee
was a great hypocrite and deepe dissimuler,
speaking one thing and doing another. Hee
preached against couetousnesse and couetous
men, whilst he himselfe flattered the olde rich
people that had no children, to get thereby
their heritages. And he had banks goyng
in diuers countries where his seruants made
gaine of his money through interest, so as
his reuenue came to fyue or syxe Millions
of sextercies, which is in value eyght hundred
thousand poundes of rent. He preached a-
gainst pompe and delights, and in y^e meane
while had the fairest houses, and best builded
that might be, not farre inferiour to y^e proud
palaces and royall houses of Nero the Em-
perour, and thereunto the most fayre delici-
ous gardins that were possible to be seene,
together with so sumptuous moueables that
he had, so tables of Cedar with their restes
and frames of yuorie, and so muche syluer
vessel and tapistry as furnished euery house
that he had thoroughly. He inuoyd agaynst
whoredome, when he entertained the Em-
peresse and delighted in the company of Bag-
dasses.

daffes. He cried out and stormed agaynst
 flattery, and ther was not a finer nor craftier
 courtier in that qualitie than he, for he could
 make the court to every body, (yea euen to
 the Pages and varlets of the chamber) from
 whome any commoditie was to be drawe.
 And lastly he exclaymed against ambition,
 and in the meane while would needes go-
 uerne all himselfe, & suffer nothing to passe
 but through his hands. Moreouer, to heare
 him speake, was nothing else but honey, but
 eloquence, but holynesse, but wisdom and
 knowledge. And to be short, if he were now
 liuing, he would deserue to bee the greatest
 Cardinall of all Fraunce. But now to come
 again to our matter. Seneca hauing let lose
 the reynes to the Emperour Nero, and suf-
 fering him so farre forth till he had done a
 thousande mischiefes and cruelties agaynst
 one and other, great and small (as his fantasie
 led him) began to doubt least the like might
 happen vnto himselfe. Also Burras, Ruffus,
 Sulpitius and Flavius, and diuers other great
 Lordes that folowed the court by reason of
 their estates and offices, entred into the like
 feare and mistrust, especially after they had
 scene

A. 9

seene him do to death his mother Agrippine
vpon displeasure only, that she woulde still
take vpon hir the dealing with the matters
of the Empire. They then to auoyde hys
crueltie, made a conspiracie to kill him, but
the enterpryse was discovered in such sorte, as
contrariwise, he caused all them to be killed.
Neuerthelesse before they were executed, he
woulde needes talke with Sulpicius one of
the Captaynes of his garde, and with Fla-
uius the generall of the same. Of Sulpicius
he demaunded wherefore hee had broken hys
othe in conspiring agaynst him. For that
(answered he) there was no other meane to
heale thee of thy naughtinesse. Helykewise
did aske of Flavius, wherefore he had conspi-
red against him: I haue (sayd he) loued, and
hated thee about any man in y^e world: Lo-
ued thee, so long as there remained any hope
that thou wouldest become a good Princer
and hated thee, when I sawe there was no
more hope of thee but that thou wouldest
growe every daye worse and worse: For so
long as thou deseruedst to bee beloued, thou
hadst not a more saythfull and louing ser-
uant than I: but when I sawe thee once to
D. become

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become a manqueller, a murthrer, a player
of enterludes, a fencer, and a touneburner, I
could not but hate thee extremely. Those
braue answers of those two captiues or cap-
taine prisoners, made Nero more afrayd thā
any other thing, as one maruelously asto-
nied to heare that they durst speake vnto him
so boldly. In the ende, after he had put them
to death, and all other that were but neuer so
little suspected of that conspiracie, hee made
great sacrifices of thankesgiuing vnto Iupi-
ter his deliuerer, as one that thoughte hym-
selfe nowe to haue gotten the vpperhand of
all his enimies, and in place of amendment,
he gaue him selfe to doe worse than before,
assuring hym selfe to raigne then fortie
yeeres and more through the prophecings of
his Magiciens and deuines which had wil-
led him to take heede to the yeare of his age
73. and he had then skarsely accomplished
29. But as he continued his naughtie disor-
dered course, beholde Vindex became a re-
uolter from his obeylance, together with all
the prouinces and countries vnder his go-
uernement, whereof though the losse were
not small, yet was not Nero therewith much
troubled.

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troubled. But when he vnderstande that the
olde Captayne Galba hys gouernour of
Spayne was reuolted, he was greatly alto-
nied, fearing least that which the magistrates
had sayde vnto him, touching the age of .73.
was to bee vnderstanded, not of hys owne
yeres, but of Galbas, whiche was then of
the same age. Corbulo which was then with
a great armie in the East, was greatly pro-
uoked to be as Vindex and Galba had done.
But he as one that would neuer thereto con-
sent, continued alwayes so faithfull & trustie
to Nero, as he gate therfore euill will, & was
blamed of al men, which said he was a main-
tainer of tyrannie. Yet for all this, Nero fea-
ring least he should doe as his other felowes
did, sent for him by louing letters to come &
speake with him. Corbulo making no doubt
of the matter, tooke the iourney in hand: but
before he was come to the place where Nero
was, he was at Cenehre betrayed & taken by
the assaillants whiche Nero before had sente
thither to kil him, who seeing how the world
went, & weying his fault in the not doing as
other did, drew out his dagger, & therewith
strake himself to y hart w uttering these for

D. ij.

his

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his last wordes I am worthy: Nowe fir by
this short digression it may be gathered, that
the best meane to make a Prince to be well
and faythfully serued of his seruauntes and
officers, is to be a good and faythfull Prince
towards them, withoute mistrusting of the,
and to vse clemencie and gentlenes (and not
rigour & crueltie) in his gouernment. For a
good master maketh a good seruant. And yee
haue not so good a seruant, but hee will bee
discouraged when he seeth his maister to mi-
strust him, or his seruice not to please his
maister, specially when the case concerneth the
seruice of a prince, who hath power of lyfe &
death, ouer his subiects and seruauntes. For let
the seruant of a prince receyue a sowe coun-
tenance of his maiestie, and by and by he en-
treth into the feare of the losse of his life, or
at the least of his goodes and estimation.
But before I passe out of this matter of
Nero, I wil on the contrary part set downe
an example of y gentle and curteous Prince
Alexander Seuerus (of whome your maiestie
hath heretofore borne the name.) And that
is, to shewe that those two Emperours haue
both of them sayled the losse of theyr lyues
by

by following of two extremities. For Nero
 having a will to governe all upon his owne
 head, was cast headlong into the mislikynge
 and hatred of his people, to the losse of his life.
 And Alexander by suffering him selfe to be
 ruled by the fantasies of other men, wonne
 the evill will of his nobilitie and men of war,
 which unhappily slew him. And of a truth,
 a man muste alwayes keepe an even hande,
 and eschewe extremities in all things, and
 specially in matters of state and government.
 For as Horace sayth.

Horace lib.
 1. Sermo.
 Satira. 2.

Oft whilst the foole doth one fault flie,
 He fallies into the contrarie.

Nero (as I sayde) had good and wise ser-
 vants about him to his officers. But whē he
 had suffered the to beare authoritie a while,
 hee fell into misliking of them, and therefore
 would not be ruled any more by them. Con-
 trariwise Alexander would be doe nothing at
 all, but by the counsell of wise men, of whom
 he had a great number about him: and there-
 in surely he did well. Nevertheless the writers
 of histories find fault with him in this,
 that he gave too much authoritie to his mo-
 ther Mamea, which otherwise had bin a good

Lampridi-
 us in Alex-
 andro. He-
 rodianus
 lib. 6.

D. iij. woman,

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woman, but that she was not only greedy
in gathering of goods from the poore people,
but also a couetous niggarde towards such
as serued the Emperour hir sonne; beside the
which she was very ambitious, aspiring al-
together to the gouernement of the affayres,
euer soie to see hir sonne so courteous & gen-
tle in his gouernements: for where hee was
turnamed Severus, hee took that aswell of
his predecessor Septimius Seuerus, as of his
leuete obseruing of martialke discipline: but
otherwise he was the most affablest and ge-
nleest prince in the world. Nevertheless, by
his yeelding so much authoritie to his mo-
ther Mamea, he so gate the euill will of hys
gentlemen and men of warre, as by way of
a conspiracie they slew them both together.
Cruely it was a spectacle very pitious, to
see this gentle yong Prince (when the con-
spiratours entered the chamber to kill him)
rings and cast him selfe betwene the armes
of his mother, lamentably crying, Ah mo-
ther mother, you are heere of the cause. So
were they together in slayne, therough the
others armes, to the greafe damage of the
Empire, for the losse of so good and gentle

a prince, who in al other things gouerned him-
selfe aswell as might be possible, through the
good and wise aduises of such excellent per-
sonages, as were of his priuite counsell: A-
mongst whome the chiefe was doctoz Vi-
pian, a mā singularly learned in y^e ciuil law,
and very well practised in matters of the
state, and issued of the house and stocke of A-
lexander, whome hee serued as his chan-
celer.

This mā was not an old doctoz of a strange
nation, ignorant of the lawes, manners, and
customes of the countrie, drawē out of Vul-
cans shop to deale with sealing: he was one
made of another manner of metall. But in
summe (as I sayd) y^e fault of this good Em-
perour Alexander in giuing his mother too
much authoritie, cost both him and hir theyr
liues. And truely that fault of his was not
small. For Alexander ought to haue consid-
dered what hee had learned of Heliogaba-
lus his cosin and predecessor, which Helioga-
balus gouerning by his mother Semiamira
(without whose aduise nothing passed tou-
ching the common wealth) was incontinen-
tlye despised of all the worlde, and after

Lampri. in
Heliogaba.
Dion in
pseudo
Antonino.

D. iiii.

he

Froyssart
lib. I. cap. 4
15. 24.

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he had raigned not passing three yeres, was
by certayne rebels slayne very yong, and had
his body together with his sayde mothers,
drawen through the fylth of the riuer Tiber.
And thereupon it was decreed by the Se-
nate, that neuer woman should enter into the
counsel. The gentle King Edward of Eng-
land the thirde of that name, gouerned him-
selfe farre otherwise. He was sonne to Ed-
ward the seconde a cruell king, that was de-
pryued of his kingdome by his subiects, and
to the Lady Isabell daughter of Philip the
fayr, king of France. This Lady Isabell
Queene of England, was the cause that hir
sonne was crowned King, by the assent of
the Realme, and therefore thought he should
doe nothing but by hir counsell, as in very
deede he dyd not for a tyme, but gaue to hir
the chiefe authoritie touching the gouerne-
ment of his realme. But it happened that
this good Queene mother to reuenge hir
selfe of certayne of the nobilitie at hir pleas-
ure, caused hir sonne to committe certayne
cruelties, for the whyche hee was misli-
ked and muche blamed of his subiectes.
Whiche when thys gentle King Edward
percey-

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percelued, iudging it best rather to lose the
fauour of his mother than of his people, he
neyther woulde fall into like perill as did
Nero and Alexander Seuerus, noꝝ yet put his
mother to death as Nero did: but made hir
to be bestowed in a strong, howbeit a very
faire and pleasant castell, of large circuite,
wherein there were many goodly courtes,
gardens, and walkes, inclosed with walles:
and appoynted hir a good companie of La-
dies and gentlewomen, with men of wor-
ship and honour, to serue hir after hir state.
And bycause she was of the house of France,
and Queene mother of Englande, he assig-
ned hir a sufficient reuenue for the mainte-
nance of hir estate. And to honour hir as
his mother, he went to visite hir twice or
thrice a yeere. But neyther woulde he euer
suffer hir to passe out of the precinct of the
castell, noꝝ to meddle any moze with the go-
uernment of the realme. And he was muche
esteemed, as well of strangers as of his sub-
iects, for his valiant and manly heart, in that
he would not submit himselfe vnder the rule
of a woman. But let vs retorne againe to
our former matter, touching such Princes as

D. b.

haue

Titus li. 17.
Sueton in
Vitell. 10.
cap. 10.

haue vndone them selues by making warre
against their subiectes. The Emperour
Vitellius ouerthrew and made a great
slaughter of the Romanes, in his battell had
against Otho: his souldiers seeing so many
deade bodies in the fiede, were therefore
verie sorrowfull, but especially for that there
was of them few or none that founde not a-
mongst those deade bodies some of their pa-
rents & friends (for they were all Romanes)
whose death ministred to them muche cause
of griefe, vpon the which occasion they gene-
rally detested those ciuill warres had be-
twene Vitellius and Otho.

Vitellius one day walking through the
field wher the dead bodies of that ouerthrow
lay, and seeing some stop their noses, did as it
were in mockage thereof, and as one glad of
the slaughter, vtter this detestable saying:
the body of a slaine enimie hath a good sent,
but the body of a slaine citize hath yet a better
But not long after, y^e tyrant which found so
much sweetnesse in the saour of his slaine
citizens, was him selfe slaine as shamefully
as he possibly might be. For being taken and
bound by suche as conspired against him: he

was

was brought into the market place with a
 halter about his necke, all naked from the
 waste upward, his apparell all to torne, and
 his handes fastned behinde him, his chin also
 being vnderlet with a bodkin, to make him
 hold vp his head. With which furniture hee
 was in derision harried through the streetes,
 not without dirt and filth flung in his face,
 till he came to the comō gibet, where he was
 slaine and cut in peeces, & lastly cast into Ty-
 ber. That was the rewarde that he reaped of
 his pleasure taken in the smel of the dead bod-
 dies of his citizens. The Emperour Gallien
 made war against y inhabitants of Bizance
 his subiectes. Bizance was then a goodly flo-
 rishing citie, which was after named Con-
 stantinople by Constantine the great. This
 Gallien hauing gotten the possession of this
 goodly citie, the townsmen wherof had yelded
 themselves to his deuotion, caused to be slaine
 & murdered, (contrary to his word) al the in-
 habitants of the same, (young and olde)
 without mercie, none other escaping, than
 such as he could not come by. And he vsed
 like crueltie against many other good towns
 wherein his manner was to leaue no male vn-
 killed, so bestly a bludsucker he was. Also this
 other

Trebellius
 Pollio in
 Gallieno &
 in Ingenio
 tyranno.

other good qualitie he had, that Sardanapa-
 lus was neuer plunged more deeply in dis-
 ordinate lecherie and voluptuousnesse than
 he. These two faire properties of crueltie
 and lecherie, caused the most part of the pro-
 uinces of the Emptre to reuolt from his go-
 uernment. In so much, that in dyuers coun-
 tries there rose vp against him eyght and
 twentie captaines, whereof one got one pro-
 uince, another got another, so as a great part
 of the nations subiecte to the Empire of
 Rome, did cut them selues quite off from
 their obedience to the Emptre, which coulde
 neuer after that recouer againe his Domini-
 ons, but being extremely hated, was slayne
 by a captaine of Schauonie. And when one
 came to him and sayd, syr, Fraunce is reuol-
 ted against you: Well well (sayd he) what we
 leane our good cheere for those pyde coats?
 (for the Frenchmen then wore their garments
 embroidered with coloures.) And whē ano-
 ther layde vnto him, that Egypt was reuol-
 ted from his obeyfance: Well wel (quoth he)
 can not we forbear the surplices of Egypt.
 The like wordes bled he of other Prouinces,
 when tydings was brought him of their re-
 uolting.

rebell
 in oth
 Gallio
 in legio
 in legio

noltling. Whereupon by the way I note,
 howe welnere ordinarily it happeneth, that
 when one Province or towne revolteth, the
 reuoltes of other doe easily folowe, bycause
 naturally men desire change, and are neuer
 contented with their present state, but hope
 still vpon better, when it turneth commonly
 into worse. The example of which manner
 of reuoltment, is well to be scene in this hi-
 storie of Gallien, for after Fraunce was re-
 volted, the other Provinces ensued one after
 another. It was also to be scene in that I
 sayde before of Nero, from whome as firste
 Fraunce and then Spaine revolted, so the
 other Provinces folowed. When Hanniball
 had wonne the iourney of Cannas against
 the Romanes, a great part of their subiectes
 one after another forsooke them, and willing-
 ly yelded them selues to Hanniball. The
 like may be learned of the warres which the
 Romanes had againste their confederates,
 which revolted one after another, yea and
 banded them selues together against them.
 Cæsar doth also write, y after he had brought
 vnder his obeylance the townes of Fraunce:
 they of Autun, which were the first that drew
 him

2

Ti. Liuius
lib. 3. dec. 3.

Ti. Liuius
lib. 7. de. 1.

Appianus
de bello
Social.

De bello
Gal. lib. 7.
cap. 19.

him into France, were also the little that
 withdrew them selves from him, and made
 the most part of the other towncs to doe the
 like, in such sort, as he founde more painefull
 his gouerning therein at y last, thā he did his
 conquering of them at the first. Whereupon
 hee saide, that the french men are naturally
 enclyned to reuolting, when the way is once
 opened to the. I could alledge an infinit nū-
 ber of other examples to this purpose, but the
 matter is cleare enough of it selfe, & requireth
 no large discourse, and therefore I will now
 returne to my purpose. Lewes the last Earle
 of Flaunders (for after him the Earldome
 fell into the house of Burgoign, and from
 thence into the house of Austrich, wher it now
 tarieth,) made great and grieuous warres a-
 gainst his subiectes of Gaunt, bycause they
 were not to him so obedient as he woulde
 them (as people that in deede were alwayes
 too stubborne against their Prince.) He ha-
 uing then continued a long and sharpe siege,
 by cutting off their victuals, brought a-
 amongst them a maruellous famine, where-
 through they were driuen into an vtter dis-
 paire. The poore people desired the Dutches
 of

Frois. lib. 2.

cap. 95. 96.

97. 98.

100. 101.

102. 103.

104. 105.

106. 107.

108. 109.

110. 111.

112. 113.

114. 115.

116. 117.

118. 119.

120. 121.

122. 123.

124. 125.

126. 127.

128. 129.

130. 131.

132. 133.

134. 135.

of Brabant, the Bishop of Liege, and certaine
 other of y nobilitie, to entreate for some good
 peace, with the said Earle their Lord. The
 which the sayde Lords tooke great paynes to
 do, but the Earle would in no wise agree to
 any other ende, than that all the inhabitantes
 of Gaunt, should in a certain place come be-
 fore him barefoote and bare headed, with hal-
 ters about their neckes, Demaunding pardon
 for their rebellion, and their pardonings ne-
 verthelesse to stande vpon his pleasure. Whe
 the poore Gauntois vnderstode no better re-
 medy to be hoped for thā that, they desperat-
 ly determined (rather than so) to hazard them-
 selues to dy with their swords in their hāds.
 Wherby out of the town there issued about
 5000. Gauntois (compelled therto by famin,
 as the wolfe is to the wood) which sped them
 towards Bridges, where the Earle their lord
 then lay with his power. And when they
 came somewhat neare the sayde towne of
 Bridges, their captaines, and certain Fryers
 that were with them, beganne to encourage
 them, & tolde them that their case was like to
 the children of Isracell, which had humbled
 the selues as much as might be vnto Pharao,
 and yet he had neuer the more pitie vpon the.
 And

And that enen as God had drowned Pharaon
 in the depth of the sea for his rygout reached
 out to the Israclites: so woulde he punishe
 Lewes their Lorde for his crueltie extended
 to the Gauntois. Whylest the Fryers were
 thus preaching to the poore hungerstarued
 people, beholde, the armie of the Earle
 (which were fourtie thousande men in good
 aray,) came raunging towarde the sayde
 five thousande famished Gauntois, who (on
 the one side being past all hope of any fauor
 at their Lordes hande, and on the other side,
 readie to be swallowed up by famine) deter-
 mined verily to vanquish or to dye, and
 thereupon fought so valyantly and despe-
 rately, as they ouerthrewe the Earles armie,
 sacked his houses, and tooke his towne of
 Brudges, and gave vnder their government
 all his townes of Flaunders, Audenarde on-
 ly excepted. The Earle saved him selfe with-
 in Brudges, after the ouerthrowe of his ar-
 mie. And when Brudges was taken, he hid
 himself in the house of a poore woman, which
 bestowed him in a garret vnder a little couch,
 vpon the which his yong children were layde
 to sleepe. The next morning he founde the
 meanes

meanes to steale out of the towne secretly,
disguised in a Costermongers apparell,
wherwith he gat into Lisse, where he tarped
in safetie. But after that time neuer ly-
ued peaceably in his countrey, for whereas
befoze he had but only the Gauntois agaynst
him, (whiche hee might easily by gentle
meanes haue brought vnder his obeylante :)
he was after that banded agaynst by all the
whole countrey.

Roboam King of Israel, a Prince euill
adulst (although he were the sonne of Sa-
lomon a wise father.) Woulde needes put
vpon his people greater tributes and sub-
sidies, than euer his sayde father dyd. The
people opening to him their griefes, by way
of complayntes, shewed them selues vnable
to sustayne so great charges. Whereupon
Roboam brought the matter to his coun-
sell, to the ende they myght determine what
best therein was to be done. The olde and
sage Counsellours were of opinion, that his
best was to graunt to his subiectes their de-
maund, in not augmenting of their im-
pokes, wherethrough he might at his newe
comming to the Crowne, winne the hearts

3. Re. cap. 12.

E.

of

of his people, to the rendring of their obedience and franke good wil to hys seruice. The counsellours whiche were yong (as well in iudgement as in yeeres, and suche as at this day there are too many of,) were of y contrary opiniō, saying, that it was not mete for a kyng to graunt the people their willes, by doing whereof (sayde they) he shoulde receyue lawe of them to whome he ought to gyue lawe, and subiecte him selfe to them that ought to be subiecte to him : but rather, that he ought to make them knowe hym for their Prince and soueraigne Lorde, whose office was to commaunde, and theirs absolutely to obey.

Roboam folowing this opinion, woulde needs lay great taxes and impositions on his people, by reason whereof the most part of them (that is to say) tenne partes of twelue, rebelled against him, and rayled for their Kyng one Ieroboam. Whereupon the sayd Roboam prepared an armie of 80000. men, for the repressing of those rebelles, wherein he lost both his labour and time, for Ieroboam continued King in peace. And from that time forth, that kingdome remained deuided in

In two: King Lewes the eleventh (as fine & subtil a prince as euer was in Fraunce) at his coming to the crowne governed him selfe very yll, in displacing and hindering of many good and ancient seruitours, that had don great seruice to Charles the senenth his father, in the recouering of his realme, the most part whereof, the Englishmen long time enioyed. Wherewith the nobles being discontented, raysed against their sayde king a ciuill warre, which they called the commo welth. To them many townes and commonalties also adloyned them selues, by reason of the great imposses that the king put vpon them. But the wise king (knowing his faulte) sought all the meanes possible for the appeasing of that warre, therein folowing the aduice and counsell of his good friend Fraunces Sforze the Duke of Millaine, which counselled him for y obtaining of peace, to deny nothing of their demaundes. And in deede by graunting their requests, he appeased those ciuill warres, and was al his life after serued of those noblemen & gentlemen, y were against him in the same, towards whom he neuer reserved so much as any desire of reuēgement.

C. ij.

It

Philip de Cō-
munes lib. I.
cap. 3.

It may be sayd, that what the king did herein, was done vpon policie. But howe so euer it was done, the Frenchmen till these dayes were neuer so Italionated, as to beare malice long in their heartes. And this wise king woulde neuer hazarde his common wealth, by giuing of battell vnto his people, saying, that he would not commit his estate (which was so good and so great, as the king of a royall Realme) to the perill of so vncertaine a thing as a battell. And after the peace made, hee frankely confessed, that hee sawe him selfe in great perill of loosing his kingdome, and had determined in his mynd, to haue saued him selfe at Millaine, or else amongst the Switzers, if Paris had not helde with him, but bene wonne and possessed by his aduersaries. Edward the seconde of that name King of Englande, for the pleasure of Hugh Spencer his chiefe mynion, made warre against his subiectes, and put to death many of his Princes and nobles without anye order of iustice, in so muche as Queene Isabell his wife, with his sonne and hers (to shunne his furie and crueltie) were fayne to flee into Fraunce, who after returned

turned agayne into Englande with hyr
 sayde sonne, and a small force, which she had
 gotten by the meanes of a meane Gentle-
 man called Syr Iohn of Henawd, brother to
 the Earle of Henawd. And being arpyued
 in Englande, founde all the people readie at
 hir commaundement, as those that had taken
 a great displeasure agaynst the King, by
 reason of his crueltie: So as she besieged
 hir sayde husbände, tooke him prysoner, and
 bestowed him in the Tower of London.
 Then caused she all the estates of the realme
 to be assembled, by whome Kyng Edward
 the seconde (for his crueltie committed a-
 gaynst his nobilitie) was founde and pro-
 nounced vnworthy to be Kyng any longer,
 and so was depriued of his dignitie. And
 whyle he was yet aliue, and prysoner in the
 sayde Tower of London, the sayde estates
 crowned his sonne Edward the thyrde
 their Kyng, of whome I haue spoken afore,
 and shewed that he did the like to his mo-
 ther. Tarquine the proud a King of the Ro-
 manes, was by his people driue out of Rome,
 as well for his governing ouer proudly, as
 for suffering his sonne to violate a woman
 E.iiij. of

Dionis. Hal.
 4. & 5.

of honour named Lucrecia, and being thence
 banished, he sent his embassadours thither for
 the procuring of his peace, and restablishe-
 ment of his estate: many gaue their consents
 to restore him, and had he proceeded in gen-
 tle and tractable maner, there had bene great
 likelyhoode of the recouerie of his kingdome.
 But being vnable to maister his own pride,
 he gathered together as many as he coulde
 get to take his part, and with Porsena kyng
 of the Heturians (whome he rayled vp to
 ayde him) made warre againste the Ro-
 manes. This war procured him such hatred
 of the Romanes which hadde bene his sub-
 iectes, as they would neuer after retorne vn-
 der his obeylance: in so much as both he and
 all his posteritie were deprived from off the
 kingdome, and the estate of that Monarchie
 changed into a publike state. And from that
 time forth the name of King was deadly
 hated and abhorred among the Romanes.
 And no maruell though the name of King
 were so sore hated of the Romanes for one
 mans faulte, that euen when the same state
 returned againe to a Monarchie vnder Iuli-
 us Cæsar, neither he nor his successours wold
 be

be called kings, but Emperours. For it hath
happened so to dyuers other names. The
name of Tyrant, which at this day soundeth
so yll, and is of euerie man hated, was a-
mongst our Elders an honourable name, &
signified none other thing but lord, insomuch
þ Virgil whose onely drift in his Aeneiades,
was to aduance the godlynesse & vertue of
his Aeneas, calleth him Tyrant. Likewise þ
name of Iudas (which signifieth a Confes-
sour,) was in times past reputed honourable,
and yet by reason of one mans faulte, it is
nowe taken for a traytour. And befoze the
Emperour Neroes time, this name Neron
(which in the olde Sabin tong signifieth no-
ble) was esteemed as a glorious name, espe-
cially after the days of Claudius Nero, which
overcame Asdrubal Hannibals brother, & his
50000. men: but for the offences of one only
man, the same is now taken for a tyrant. So
much may the wickednesse of one man do, to
þ utter defacing of a faire & honorable name
for euer. God graunt that the vices of some of
vs frenchmē, do not bespot þ name of Frēch-
man, which hath heretofore bin esteemed and
honored throughout al þ world: which thing
I am sore afraid of, if we mend not þ soner:

Virgil Eneide
lib. 7.

for alreadie in Germanie, they cal al frenchmen indifferently Schelmes. Continuing our examples, I will recite you one which is the moze to be noted, for that it was done by the way of iustice.

As Iosephus
De bello Iud.
lib. 18. cap. 1.
2. 3.

After the death of the great Herode king of Iudea, Samaria, Galile, and Idumea, there arose a strife and contention betweene Archelaus and Herodes Antipas his sounes. Archelaus would needs make wars against his subiectes, vpon a verie flyght occasion, in suche wise, as for the giuing of one blowe, he caused three thousand persons to be slaine by his bozemen, to whome he made to traueise and runne through the whole assembly of his people. Wherevpon his brother Antipas sped him strayght vnto Rome, where before Augustus Cæsar he accused Archelaus, for at that time welnere all the Kings of the world were subiect to y^e Romane Empire. The Jewes also sente from Iudea to Rome, fiftie Ambassadors, to accuse hym before Augustus, and to shewe how vnwozthy he was to raigne, that had vpon his people committed suche crueltie: and that also there was no better curtisie to be looked for

at his handes, that woulde so soone after the death of his father (and immediatly vpon his entrie) commit actes so cruell and brutall. In consideration wherof they besought Augustus to gyue them rather Antipas for their King. Augustus Cæsar tooke knowlege of this matter, neuerthelesse, for that hee bare some fauour and friendship to Archelaus: he confirmed his succession in Iudea, Samaria, & Idumea, and assigned Galile to Antipas. But therewith hee exhorted Archelaus to the gouerning of him selfe thenceforth more mildly and gently towards his subiects. Archelaus returning into his countrey with so good speede at Augustus hande, behaued him selfe there, more cruelly than before. Whereupon hee was agayne accused at Rome, and there condemned by the Senate, to whome Augustus had referred the examination of the matter, in somuche that all his goodes were confiscate to the Emperour by sentence of the Senate, and hee him selfe was banished to Vienna in Dauphine, there to ende his dayes, as he miserably did. After this iudgement, Iudea, Samaria and Idumea, were ruled by suche gouernours as the Emperour

C. b.

did

did establishe, as by Coponius and Annus
 Rufus in the raigne of Augustus Cæsar, and
 by Valerius Gratus, and Pontius Pilate (that
 cruell man, whiche iudged our Saviour to
 death) during the dayes of Tiberius. The
 conclusion is, that Archelaus for his warring
 and ouerrigorous dealing with his sub-
 iectes, miserably ended his dayes, and was
 the causer of the alteration of the state of his
 countrie. Upon this matter of alteration
 of states, I say by the way, that it hath of-
 ten fallen out, and still dothe, that when
 Monarchies haue bin excessively corrupted
 with vice, they haue bin changed into com-
 mon weales: and likewise when the com-
 mon weales haue once bin corrupted, they
 also haue bin changed into Monarchies and
 kingdomes. The example heereof was
 seene in the nation of the Iewes, at whose
 beginning euen from the tyme of Moyses
 and Iosua, that people was gouerned in the
 fourme of a Monarchie (for those two were
 as chiefe gouernours one after another.)
 Afterwarde in the time of the Iudges was
 the same state chaunged to the fourme of a
 common weale, for the people were gover-
 ned

ned by a chosen number of auncients (except
in time of warre when God alwayes raysed
bp to them a Captayne (which they called
their iudge.) But againe in the dayes of Sa-
muell it altered from a common wealth to
a Monarchie, at whiche time Saul was cho-
sen King. After that, in the time of the Ma-
chabees, it was changed from a Monarchie
to a popular state, howbeit, that to say the
truth, it was a confused state, whiche had no
manner of forme of good gouernement, and
yet afterwarde it returned to the manner of
a Monarchie in y^e reign of Herode y^e great,
and was lastly put into the forme of a pro-
uince vnder y^e Romane Empire. Likewise
y^e estate of y^e Romanes was gouerned as a
Monarchie fro the raigne of Romulus till y^e
time of Tarquine the proud, whose pride and
euill gouernemente was the cause that the
same state was changed into the forme of a
common wealth. In that state y^e Romanes
continued vnto the dayes of Iulius Cæsar, at
which time it was so corrupted with riot, a-
uarice, & ambition (whereof the ciuil warres
betweene Scilla and Marius, and betweene
Cæsar and Pompei may be a witnesse,) that
it could not but alter and come agayne to a
Monar=

Monarchie. Since y^e which time that great
 Romane Monarchie hath bene piteously
 wasted by the euill governmentes of many
 Emperours. And of the wast of the same,
 haue bin created many common wealthes
 and great kingdomes, as Fraunce, Spayne,
 Englande, and other greater and smaller
 Monarchies. To bee shorte, these chaunges
 haue bene seene in the state of the Romane
 Empire, in lesse than. 1500 yere. France be-
 fore the time of Iulius Cæsar stood in the state
 of small common wealthes, which gouerned
 themselues apart the one by the other, by cō-
 federations that they had together to reuēge
 them vpon strangers, as the Cantons do at
 this day. But ambition made them bandie,
 and make warre eache agaynst other, to
 proue whiche shoulde be the greatest. Of
 whome, when they of Autun had gotten the
 vpper hand as the stronger, those of Sequa-
 nois their neighbours, feeling them selues
 the weaker, called the Almaines to their suc-
 cors against them of Autun. The Almaines
 comming downe vnder the conduct of Ari-
 onistus, serued them and occupied a good
 part of the countrie Sequanois for their wa-
 ges.

Cesar de bel-
 lo gall. lib. I
 cap. 13.

ges. They of Autun on the other syde demanded succor of the Romanes: wherebpon Cæsar came into France, and vnder the colour to succour them of Autun, and to chace Arionistus from the countrie that he occupied: he wonne to himselfe the whole countrie of France. So as it may truely be sayd, that that change of the French state happened through the diuision that then was in France, without the which deuision, Cæsar had neuer vanquished them (what Cæsar soeuer he had bin.) And truely we see by the histories, that alwayes till then, the Frenchmen had well canuassed the Romanes, yea and taken and burned Rome. In somuch that (as sayth Salust) the Romanes so feared them, that alwayes when they hearde the French (to be in armes, yong, and old, priestes, and laymen, none excepted or excused amongst the) were commaunded to arme them. Yea, they would openly confesse, that against all other nations they warred for the gaining of honor and glory, but against the French men, for the preservation of their liues. But Cæsar finding them in deuision, added oyle to the flame of their furie, partly by whiche policie

Salust de bello Iugurthino

Plutarch in
Cæfare.

licie, and partly by his valiancie he set vppon them, and overcame them, changed their state from sundry common wealthes, to one only Monarchie. Pca, thus muche more hee did, that as with the Romane power, he vāquished the Frenchmen, so with the French mens money, he obteyned y^e Romane Empire (another very good policie) for with the money that he gate in Fraunce, he corrupted the chiefe of Rome, through the fauour of whome, he was chosen Dictatour perpetual, which is as much to say as Monarch of the Romanes. So was the Realme of France by Cæsar vnitied to the Romane Empire, from the whiche they often after soughte to cutte them selues off, as in the ende they did. In the tyme of the Emperour Tiberius, one Iulius Sacrouir of Aduan made parte of Fraunce to reuolt, rayling certayne small assemblies secretly in the Townes, and exhorting the people, no longer to suffer neyther the continuance of the tributes (wherewith the Emperour oppressed them) nor the pride and crueltie wherewith the Magistrates (sente thither from Rome) overburdened them. Also they reuolted vnder
the

Cor. Tacitus
Annal.

the Emperour Nero, as well for his greate
crueltie, as for his ouercharging them wyth
greate paymentes of money (by mee before
spoken of.) Lykewise vnder the Empe-
rour Gallien for hys greate riot and whoze-
dome, as before I haue touched. For the
Frenchmen (sayeth Pollio) were in those
dayes of suche disposition, as they coulde
not abide a vicious Prince. And agayne,
after they renolted from the Emperoures,
Probus, Dioclesian, and others, tyll they
hadde quite cut off them selues agayne from
the Empyre, and politiquely broughte
their countrie into a self settled Monarchie,
the which the Lord long mayntayne.

Trel. Pollio
in Gallianno.

Who soeuer woulde take vppon him the
discouering of the infinite number of ex-
amples, whiche touche the alterations that
haue happened in publike estates, from
Monarchies into common weales, and
from common weales into Monarchies
(when corruption hadde once caughte
them) shoulde neuer make an ende: but
to mee it suffiseth to haue touched these
fewe, to the ende that youre Maiestie
by youre wisdomie myghte prouide, that
the

the corruptions, whiche are nowe crept into France, and are dayly like to creepe further, bryng not with them a change to the state (whiche God forbid.) For truely there is nothing that more forebode the alteration of an estate, than when corruption is scene to spread ouer farre into it. I knowe well that men can not be without faultes, neyther can Monarchies, nor common wealthes, bee so gouerned, as there may not in the gouernment be found matter of reproofe, but when al things in the same are to be scene turned by hynde do wne, when vice is made vertue, and vertue made vice, when good men are hated, and euill men aduanced: in summe, when corruption hath recovered the highest degree that it may reache to: then may it well bee sayd, (according as men do see continually) that an exchange of state approcheth. Wherewithall is to be noted, that by the ordinarie course of worldly things, no one state can endure for ever. And sye, seeing that your kingdome hath endured this twelue hundredeth yeeres and more, you ought so muche the rather to feare, least in the state thereof, some alteration shoulde happen. And it in

Julius

In Julius Cæsars time the strangers drawen into Fraunce coulde fynde the way to winne the same: it is not to bee doubted but if it may lye in their power they will now doe the lyke. The Frenchmen, when they sawe the euill dealing of Cæsar, repented their calling him into Fraunce, but then it was too late. Let vs therefore in tyme bee warned by the harmes of our auncestours, so to provide for our safeties, as we be not overtaken as were the Troyans whiche became wise, but not til after such time as they were bitterly overpowen.

The seconde point.

Hereto I haue (I thinke) sufficiently spoken of the first poynte of my treatie, that is to saye, that a Prince shall not fynde profitable, his making of warres agaynst his subiects. It foloweth now, that I come to say somewhat of the seconde, whiche treateth of those miseries that ciuill warres do engender, and the profit that a good peace might bring to your Crowne, and poore Subiects.

f.

De

Of the calamities that from ciuill warres
do proceede, we neede not to make any long
discourse, eache seeing and feeling the same
in a thousand sortes of afflictions, touchyng
their persons, losse of goodes, and deathe of
parents and friends, and each knoweth (that
hath any iudgemente) the mischiefes thereof
to be such, as will (if they continue) bring the
realme to utter destruction. For ther is none
(that seeth what we see, and knoweth what
we knowe) but may thinke, that (the ciuill
warres enduring) it will happē vnto France
as it happened to y two fighting Frogges,
whiche when they had fought till they were
weery, were by the Kyte that came to parte
them (in eache sorte one) carried away. And
it is not to bee doubted, but the straungers
whiche to that warre encouraged vs, are as
gladde to see vs together by the eares, as
was the Kyte soaring (ouer the Frogges to
see them fyght, whose fyghting he meant to
make a surdetance to his pray) as they hope
ours shall one daye bee to theirs, when wee
shall bee vnable any longer to maintayne
warres. And therefore it is, that some on
the one syde, and some on the other, to the
proceede

proceeding on both sydes, gyue so great encouragemente. Ah Syr (sayth one) will you lose the glorious title of most Christian King heretofore gotten by youre auncesours, through their maineteyning of the Romane Church? Will you sir (cryeth another) suffer your Subiectes to prescribe lawes vnto you, and to bring into youre Realme a newe Religion maugre youre will? will not you perforce the agreemēt of the holy league, whiche is to abolishe whatsoener in sayth is contrary to the holy Church of Rome? The Frenchmen haue aforesaid had this honoz, to haue often passed the mountaynes, and to haue made beyonde the seas many iourneys for the defence of the catholique religion, & holy sea of Rome, and must they now lose that glozy? Philip August king of France, ouerthrew the Albigois his subiects, & made of thē a great slaughter, for y they would haue intruded into their countrey a newe kinde of Religion, which by y recullio was put away & abolished. Why follow you not then y exāple of y good king your predecessour? These & such other proper deuises put forth by y Spanyards & Popes penciō.

Pensionaries, to encourage you to the set-
 ting on fire the foure corners (yea and middle
 parte) of your Realme. But in the meane
 season, none dothe saye vnto you. Sir, you
 spyll, and utterly spoyle youre Realme, in
 making warre against your subiects, whych
 kind of warre, no Prince did euer finde pro-
 fytable. There is none that sayth vnto you,
 Sir, you bring your selfe in hatred of youre
 neighbours the Almaines, Englishmen, Scots
 and Flemings, from whom in time of neede
 more amitie might be drawen than may e-
 ther from the Italians or Spaniardes.
 None dare to you say, Sir, this cause of re-
 ligion is not yet so brought out of doubt,
 that the gospellers be vanquished in the er-
 roz of their sayth: for they presented them-
 selues at Poissi, in the time of your late bro-
 ther, to mainteine the poyntes of their Reli-
 gion, but my maisters the Prelates, were as
 then at no leysure to confute them: so that
 whether in sayth they erre or not, is as yet
 vndertermined. And therefore you shoulde
 not be so greatly moued as to execute them
 before they were condemned. And touchyng
 the counsell of Trewe they say, it is as it were

a determined sentence giuen of a self wil, and that they ought neuerthelesse to be hearde, at y least in purging themselves of stubborne dealing, as in deede they may well doe. Besides this, there are that beate downe the sayd counsell as a thing of no force, as the late master Charles of Molin a very lerned lawyer doth, who hath taken. xxx. or forty exceptions to the saide counsell. And there are some of opinion y men ought to be admitted to haue a writ of error against the same counsell, as wel as against a wrong iudgement in the Parliament of Paris giuen bpō y hearing of the parties. Wherefore to execute the poore gospellers & to roote them out by peremptorie indgemēt before they be duly condemned, and their reasons and defences herd, were too wrongfull & unreasonable dealing, seeing that overhastie iudgements are not vsed in lesser matters. Yea but (say they) they be rebellious and seditious, ha, that is another maner of matter. The things that I say at this present, are but to disproue the reasons of such as help to kindle y fire in France vnder pretence of rooting out the enemies of the faith, for in that respect I saye, that that

f. iiij.

poynt

point is not boyde. Touching that which is said that the gospellers should be rebels, they flatly denie it: put the case they were so, it cannot be denied but they haue thereunto bin compelled by sundry greate occasions, yet wer it no hard matter, by gentle meanes to reduce them to obedience.

Those which so sound y trumpet, to prouoke vs to y wars, & to y slaying of one another, care not much by what meanes they do it, so it be don. For y marke y they meane at, is y we destroy ourselues with our owne proper forces, a thing to them indifferent, so it be done without their cost. The Spaniards stande in hope to become greater, by our becomming lesse, and would gladly vniuite Spayne with the lowe countrie. If they could (by y gayning of France that lieth betweene both.) And the potentates of Italy know very well, that were the Frenchmen once at rest, they would by and by vndertake some voyages thither, for y reuerie of the realmes of Cycill, Naples, and the Dutchy of Millaine, as did the late kings of happy memorie Charles the eight, Lewis the twelfth, Frauncis the firste, and Henry the seconde.

They

They knowe further the like hart and noblenesse for the doing of as much, nor to bee wanting in Henry y^e thirde: wherewith also, they stand in feare, least vnder the colour of such voyages, Italy will one day be encouraged to crye liberty, liberty, if they shal once seee such another King in Fraunce as was Charles the eight. So take they pleasure to see vs at warre whilst they as lookers on lye at their ease in peace. But both they and we (if we did not) should more advisedly looke to y^e matter, than eyther to runne one vpon another, or to nourish ciuill dissensions amongst our selues. For within little more than .80. yeeres, the Turk hath taken Constantinople from the Christians, & since he neuer ceased y^e enlarging of his limites vpon Chrestendom aswel to the Iland of Rhodes & Cipres, as to y^e land of Hungary & other places. And during our deuisions, he worketh his aduantage, wherof may beare good witness the prizes by him of late taken at the Goletta & at Tunis, to the overthrow of the Spanyardes, wherthrough he hath made open the passages for y^e imbarquing of himselfe at his pleasure, eyther into Spayne, Sicill, Italy, Marcelles or Narbone, without any stoppe or stay. And

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might he once enter into Italy (as god forbid
he should) it were greatly to be feared that he
would make him selfe Pope, with a worse
toabe. Wherefore holye Saint Peter
might do wel to looke to his own busines, &
rather to sollicit matter of peace to y^e Chri-
stians, thā to maintayn in France such ciuill
warres as is lyke to consume the strength of
that Realm, which might in time to come
be a necessary neighbour for Italies defence.

But are not wee maruelously blinded in
our passions? For those my masters the po-
tentates of Italie which haue their fauours
in France of great credit, are y^e chiefe means,
that we with ciuill warres are entertayned,
taking pleasure to see vs buckle together, no
more nor lesse than did the aunciente Ro-
manes, when in their theatres they sawe the
sword players kill the one the other. This
was a kind of pastime accustomed to be shew-
wed to the people, who tooke greate pleasure
to behold such cruel spectacles (so full of im-
piety they wer) & euer accustomed to y^e shed-
ding of bloud. And truly we Frenchme are
now become y^e right successors to those aun-
tient Romanes (successors I say to their vi-

ces not their vertues) in y^e vsing our slaugh-
ters & desperate skymishes as sportes & pa-
stimes to please the withall. I will not say
holy S. Peter himselfe reioiceth in the effu-
sion of french blood, for y^e were an error in
y^e sayth of holy church, after whom we must
beleue y^e it can doe, speake, nor thinke any
thing y^e is euil: but what was his meaning,
in making in Rome so greate bonafiers for
ioye, and iolly generall processions in y^e yere
1572. in September, vpon the ariuall of the
newes of the Bartholmeu conspiracie?

To conclude vpon this poynt, certaine it
is, that our ciuill warres (if they continue,)
will bring muche pleasure and pastime to
strangers (and it may be, much profite to) but
not without our preiudice and vtter destruc-
tion. For what other may we looke for, than
that those of vs which shall happen to escape
the sworde (be they Catholikes, be they Gos-
pellers) shall not escape famine and those that
escape famine, it may be, shall not escape the
bande of the strange enimie, to whome they
must then become seruants and slaues. Then
will they lament those deade in the warres,
wishing for death and can not dye. Besides

f. v.

this,

90 18 38
this sye, your Maiestie can not looke after
ought else, than reuolts, rebellious disobedi-
ences, hatred of subiectes, and lastly, the vt-
ter ruine and ouerthrowe of your estate,
(whiche God forbid.) And whylest these
mischiefes are in hand (and befoze the storme
come) you shal reape none other fruites than
displeasures, heauinesse, despites, angers,
treasons, troubles, and suche like that may
hinder the health of your person, wherewith
also ye must taste part of the peoples pover-
tie, that will not oꝛ can not so fully furnishe
you with money, as the necessitie of your
case shall require.

Otherwise, is there not occasion to feare
some perticular daunger? Childerick kyng
of Fraunce, foꝛ hauing onely offended a
meane Gentleman named Bandille, whome
he caused to be scourged, was slayne in am-
bush by him. What became of it? Bandille
was not so much as once scrched foꝛ by Chil-
dericks successor, and as touching the fact, it
was esteemed as a thing well done, in re-
uenging such an iniurie. And the gentleman
was foꝛ that deepe commended by the histo-
rians, as he was also of Ronsard, where he
speaketh of the king Childerick, thus:

The

The King vnable for to rule
 him selfe through heate of wrath,
 The valiant Knight syr Bandil
 to a post last tyed hath
 In publike place, and causing him
 starkenaked to be stript,
 From top to toe most cruelly
 with passing rage him whipt.
 Now Bandil stout and fierce of minde,
 conceyuing more disdayne
 Of so outrageous villanie,
 than passing for the payne:
 And feeding in his pensiue hart
 on purpose to requite,
 will wisely for a time let slip
 the swreaking of that spite.
 But afterward (the shamefulnessse
 so sore his hart doth sting)
 He burning in disdaine and rage
 against the cruell king.
 And hauing no regard at all
 of scepter, crowne, or state,
 will pay him home his halsie mode
 with stroke of bloudy fate:
 His hart will neuer be at rest
 vntill his hand haue shed
 His lord and maisters blood, and wrought
 reuengement on his head.

And is it not to be presumed, that there be
 at this day a thousand Bandils, which feel the
 as much offended as he did, your maiestie per-
 seuering in the taking away of their goods
 and

10 3 92
and liues? And shall ye not as readily finde
Ronsards to prayse and set them forward in
such enterprises? Be there not now also
Magiciens that can torment (and by little
& little) consume a body by his image or cou-
terfait, as well as were in the time of Valens
and Valentinian the Emperours? Yes, this
worlde is at this day more poysoned with
Magiciens, Enchauntours, and Sorcerers,
than it was these five hundred yeeres past.
But these Hugonots (will some say) be of too
good conscience, to vse those kynde of people.
I answere therevnto, that there be of diuers
sortes, some haue a right good conscience, and
some none at all. There be wise, there be foo-
lish: there be sufferers, & there be reuengers:
but moe without comparison out of order,
than reformed. And be there not numbers
also of Catholikes not contented: and of A-
theists not satisfied: which will make small
scruple, to employ those Magiciens in re-
uenging of them selues? But to encounter
with those enterprises, you shall do well fir-
st to take counsell of that gentle prince Arnus,
sonne to Porsena King of the Heturians.
Porsena in the quarell of another (that is to
say)

say) to maynteine the tyrannie of Tarquin the proude, vndertooke the warres against the Romanes: who seeing this King to make them warre, for a thing that nothing touched him, took the matter verie hapnously, in so much as there was founde amongst them, three hundred Gentlemen whiche conspired to goe in counterfet apparell, to King Por-senas campe, to the ende there to kyll him.

Q. Mutius was one of the conspirators, who being come inot the saide campe, & seing one of the kings seruantes set in a chayre brauely furnished (taking him for the king him self,) killed him with the stroke of a dagger: ha-ving giuen this blow, he was taken and ca-ried to the king, who demaunded of him for what cause he had so slayne his servant: to whome Mutius wyth a greate courage (putting his hande into the fire that then presently there burned) answered after this manner. This is the hande that committed the faulte in killing thy servant, where I ment to kyll thee, and therefore it is reason it suffer the payne due to such desert. Hereat was none more abashed than Porsena him selfe; who seeing the magnanimitie of this

iolly yong gentleman, commaunded him to
 be set at libertie. Mutius who looked for none
 other than death, seeing the Kyngs noble
 disposition, sayde vnto him : Sir, for as
 much as thou hast towards me vsed a farre
 greater clemencie, thā I could in any respect
 haue looked for, I wil in recompence of y thy
 goodnesse, do thee truely to vnderstand, y there
 are of vs 300. Romaine Gentlemen, which
 haue conspired thy death, for the preventing
 wherof, it shal be good that thy guard haue a
 good eye vnto thee. Porfena vpon those words
 more astonied than before, caused an assem-
 bly of his counsell to consult what garde
 he might best entertayne, for the keeping of
 him from those conspiratours. Amongst
 whome the gentle Prince Aruns his sonne,
 was of opinion that he was not so much to
 consider of, what guard he shuld vse, as he
 was to provide for his hauing no neede of a
 guard. Then his father asked hym how that
 myght be done: in making (sayth he) the Ro-
 manes of enemies to become your friends,
 which you may, and were best to doe, if you
 make more account of your life, than ye do of
 the maintenance of Tarquins wicked cause.
 The King beleued his sonne, made peace
 with

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with the Romanes, and departed in safetie.

A number of other miseries and calamities that hang on ciuill warres, myght heere be discovered, whereof when I thinke, me seemeth to see a Chimere or other hideous monster, accompanied with all the evils, mischieses, and miseries that are in earth, sea, or hell, whereof (as of a detestable thing) it grieveth me to speake, or once to thinke: neyther woulde I serue as a Nosterdame to our poore Realme of Fraunce, in the shewing of those calamities and desolations, whiche dayly doe threaten vs (if our sayde ciuill warres continue) but had rather to stande as a Ionas, in praying vnto God for his dealing towards vs, as hee dealt towards that great citie Ninuie, from whome for one amendment, he turned away the destruction before threatened vnto them. We haue already endured miserie inough, both to make vs wisse, and to prouoke vs to amendment: if neither wisdom nor amendment haue folowed thereof, let it nowe doe: It is better late than neuer.

I wil herevnto adde (as it were in y^e detestatioⁿ of war) a sentence of the great Emperours Augustus Cæsar, worthy by al princes to

to be noted. That good Prince was wont
to say, that warres should never be taken in
hande, but where hope maketh more shewe
of profit, than feare can do of losse: meaning,
where victorie may bring great profite, and
banquishment small losse: for those (sayth he)
which will seeke small profite, and hazarde
therefore great losse, may well be likened to
him that fisheth with a hooke of golde, which
broken off and carryed away, bringeth more
losse to the fisher, than much fishe can recom-
pence. Let vs a little consider I pray you sir,
what advantage may growe to you by ban-
quishing all the Gospellers? is it the cha-
sing of the Religion quite out of youre
realme? Let it be so, yet can you not for all
that so chase it out of the worlde, but that it
may after your time retorne agayne into
Fraunce. And before ye attayne to that smal
profite, ye are like inough to lose (what of
your nobles and of your commons) an infi-
nite number of Catholikes, as the late king
your brother, in his warres late passed (the
more is the pittie) hath done. For let it be
counted a small losse, the losing of so many
braut Gospellers, as the courteous and right
noble

noble Lewes of Burbon, Prince of Conde,
 the valiant Dandalot, the wise Admirall,
 the good Count Rochfoucault, the honest Teal-
 ligni, the brave captains Bruquemauds fa-
 ther and sonne, Pilles, Monius, the Bandi-
 lars, with a number of like other. Pea let
 the Bartholmew journey be reckoned for
 a brave politike exployte (although the Gos-
 pellers to confesse it not) but doe rather in
 their Almanackes marke that faste with
 blacke letters, in token of heauynesse, sorrow,
 and blot everlasting. Where one thinks
 it rather deserved to haue dwelt in red let-
 ters, in remembrance, that the same day all
 Fraunce was dyed red, with the bloud of
 his childe. And though nothing else (I say)
 were to be weyghed, the losse of so many
 notable Gospellers: yet is it nothing to haue
 lost so many valiant and noble Catholiques?
 Is it little to haue lost Fraunces of Lorraine
 Duke of Guise, great maister of Fraunce?
 (verily a good and valiant Captaine, and
 an alder Charles Martel, which Ronfard thus
 writeth of.)
 Among the frenchme Martell raignes with fame,
 As king of kings, though not a king in name.

Is it nothing to haue lost the good Duke
 d'Aumale his brother, the lustie Count Bri-
 sacke, the curteous Count Martignes, with
 a greate number of other, wherethrough
 there remayneth at this day fewe good soue-
 diers in France, (the nobilitie thereof being
 also well nere extincte, through these laste
 civil warrs: yea but some maiestie Coun-
 tier maye chaunce to say, that the nobilitie
 maye soon be renewed, for the Kyng hath po-
 wer of villaines to make noble men. I
 confesse that your Maiestie of ignoble may
 make noble, so farre south as to the inioy-
 ing of the priuiledges of nobilitie, and the
 aduancement of the persons to great estates
 and preheminences: but I beleue not that
 a Kyng of a Clotene or base artificer, can
 make a noble Gentleman, no more than of
 a Butarde or Bestrell can be made a good
 Hawke. Nobilitie must from noble na-
 ture naturally proceede. And it can not
 be denyed, but there is commonly more
 apparence of generositie, in suche as are
 descended of nobilitie, than in suche as are
 lineally proceeded from parentes of meaner
 degree. For as sayth Horace,

Each

Each breedes his like: the Bull a Bull,
 the warlike horse, a horse:
 The cruell Eagle breedeth not
 A Dowe deuyd of force.

Yet will I not altogether deny, but some
 issued out of the meane places, become hono-
 rable personages, and are replete with noble-
 nesse, vertue, and knowledge, but those are
 verie rare. And therefore they that to encour-
 rage you to the prosecuting of the warres a-
 gainst your subiectes, say, ye may all newe
 make nobilitie: speake both without rea-
 son and good consideration, and there suche
 speeches are odious.

But againe to returne to Augustus Caesar.
 It is certaine that in the ciuill warres, as the
 gaine to be gotten by the vanquishing of the
 gossellers can (at the best hand) be but smal:
 so may the losse to growe thereby, be (at the
 worst hand) very great, even to the daunge-
 ring of the state, if it should so fall out, that
 the Gossellers (not being backed with good policie)
 should haue the upper hand: And it is a thing
 not altogether impossible, though your Ma-
 iestie & your late brother haue hitherto had
 the better, for the wars are variable, & the aduentures

and

C. ij.

of

of the same dangerous, so as he that loseth this day, is commonly a winner to morrowe. The Beniamires after the overcoming of their aduersaries in two severall battelles, were in the thirde, of the same aduersaries overcome.

And I woulde verie fayne aske of those y^e counselled you to the besieging of Pouzin, and Graue, howe well they understode that saying of Augustus: was not that the right sything with a booke of golde broken off and lost? cost not those two preces fittie tymes more than they were worth? neyther Pouzin nor Graue, with al their reuenues, goods, men, women, and children, being solde to the uttermost farthing, shall ever be so muche worth. Now coming to entreate of y^e goodnesse of this peace, alas my desire to see it well stablished in Fraunce, doth so ravishe me, as I knowe not at which ende thereof to begin: willingly would I prognosticate, that like hono^r and glory should happen unto your Maiestie (if the Lorde were so pleased) as in time past hapned to Augustus Caesar, who after the ciuill warres were ceased in the Romane Empire (wherein him selfe
had

had bene a partie) stablished throughout the
same a perfect, good, and sure peace, & there-
with settled the people in rest and tranquillity.
Wel, I will in hope of good hap that may
solowe my happy desire, write this verse
whiche Horace song in the honour of Au-
gustus, and so apply it to your Maiestie.

And the deeds of Mars I will in metre for to byt
And of his prayles to my hope a dittie for to sing,
Apollo did by wordes expresse, command me for to cease
And for to turne my note, to sing of glad and ioyfull peace:
Whiche thou king Henric, shouldst in France establish, so as
Of corne & wine & all good fruits, should plentie haue by the
Thou, thou art he, I say, that shal the golden age renue,
By meanes wherof, immortal fame shal unto thee insue.
The doores of Ianus thou shalt shut: the terror of thy mace
All euill and ungracious deeds by holy lawes shall chase.
And vnder thee all holisome artes shall flourish new againe
which in the east shal spread abroad the honor that doth reigne
within thy royal Maiestie. So daunted Mars shall be,
In Henries reigne, that ciuill warres we neuer more shal see
There shall no warre nor trouble be, in field nor yet in towne
His power the frenchmen shal copell, their choller to lay downe
which draue them to such miseries. All quarters of this land
shall humbly and obediently submit them to his hande.
Ther shal be neither great nor smal & dare once break his he
To heauen we shall aduance his praise in quiet peace and re-
Beseeching God to graunt the house of Valoys foreteine
The royal mace eternally, for aye in Fraunce to reigne.

Many are the commodities sir, that a good peace might bring to your people, which are (as it were) the husbands & traders by whose meanes your realme might become plentiful in coyne, wine, silver, gold, and al other needful, pleasant, and profitable things: & thereby (thinke I) your state royall should be greatly augmented. For the chiefe part of a princes greatnesse, is the prosperitie and wealth of his subiectes (who bring poore, their prince can not be riche,) merite the whiche a Princes force dependeth vpon his peoples willing obedience, but that tender they not so willingly, when they are oppressed with wars, and want wherewith to furnishe them, as when they are mainteyned in peace, and by their tillage & traffike, haue those wantes supplied.

And surely the money that mainteyneth these unhappy warres, employed vpon the entertaynement of straungers, and liberally bestowed vpon the well affected towarde you, woulde purchase you no small strength.

And might the Polonians once understand, that your Maiestie had established a perfect

perfecte good peace in Fraunce, to the contentment of the professors of both the religions: as it is not to be doubted, but they woulde yeelde you muche the more affection and obedience: so is it to bee feared, if it should otherwyle fall out, that they will provide them of some other king. And so much the rather for that their late king Sigismund, did alwayes mayntaine them, not onely in good peace, but also in the exercise of bothe the religions, the altering of their libertie wherein, can not but be to them a thing both newe and troublesome.

The Almaines also (which amongst themselves for Religion haue had great warres, and by whose harmes we might learne, that force and violence, hath not power to commaund the conscience, (the guiding whereof is to be lefte to God onely) are people that woulde greatly esteeme of you, if once they vnderstode that you had in Fraunce framed a peace to the lyking of bothe the Religions. Yea they woulde be so glad of your neighborhood, as ye myght and should commande their friendships in any necessitie of war. A commoditie of no small value

G. lllj.

con

considering that Almaine is the storehouse
of souldiers, wherout may be leuyed armie
upon armie, without disfurnishment of the
countrey, that neuer can be made barren of
men of warre.

And when I consider the small number
of Christian Princes that liue in these dayes,
wherewith the Emperour is already decaying:
and that the lawe of errating Emperours,
called (Le bulle doree) forbiddeth the choosing
of any more than foure Emperours toge-
ther out of one house, and howe there haue
bene diuers of the house of Austriche, (as Al-
bert, Frederike, Maximilian, Charles the fift,
Ferdinando, and Maximilian, now raig-
ning) chosen one after another: He thinkes
there is no prince in the worlde, that might
better aspire to the Empire than your Ma-
iestie. But to bring the same to passe, it be-
cometh you to winne the loue and fauour of
the Almaines, whiche ye can no way better
do, than by creating of a good peace in your
reame, plausible to both religions, in y^e ex-
ercise wherof, they now both gouernours are
gouerned, and haue their chamber composed
of persons professing the one and the other.

True

True it is that bothe the sayde Religions
through out all Almaigne be not vsed, by-
cause ther are not in all places people of both
sortes, some place consisting of gospellers,
and some of Catholiques: but in places
where people of both be, both religions are
exercised. If it then pleased God, that your
maiestie might come to be emperour (as that
way yee might easily do) was there ever so
great a king of France as you shoulde then
be? mighte yee not then march from one of
your Realmes to another though they bee
200. leagues asunder, still in your owne do-
minions? And (having the forces of Almaigne
at commaundement, with those of both your
realmes) shoulde there Moskouite or Turke
be comparable to your greatnesse? Some
will answere me and saye, that the Turke
is a mightie and a puissant governour, hol-
ding vnder his obeylance, many realmes
and prouinces. I frankly confesse it, but I
reply thereunto as did Quintus a generall
of the Romane army to the haunting and
dragging messengers of King Antiochus.

This king was a great and mighty mo-
narque in the East, who lacked little of the

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Turke in the enlargemēt of his dominions.
His Ambassadors willing to feare thys
brave Captayne Quintius, and thereby to
make him retire out of Greece, (where hee
was,) sayd vnto him, þ their master brought
towards him an infinite number of people,
all well expert in warre, passing well ap-
pointed, and such as shot on horseback. And
the more to astonishe him, they named vnto
him diuers sortes of nations to be in Antio-
chus campe, some of the which this Captain
Quintius had neuer heard named before (as
Dahans, Elimeens, Cadusiens & suche others.
Adding further that hee shoulde not haue
to do with Hanniball of Carthage, nor yet
with king Philip of Macedony, but with the
greatest part of Asia and Europa. Well (an-
swered Quintius) I will say vnto you, that
yours talke putteth mee in minde of a Sup-
per, whiche mine host of Chalchis (a good
companion) once made me. I being bys
guest in the Sommer time when the wea-
ther was very hote, greatly marvelled from
whence hee had gotten the sundrye sortes of
benison, wherewith we were serued. Vppon
which my maruelling, this good felowe (that
haunted

haunted not as you doe) began for to laugh,
 confessing all those diuersities of seruices, to
 haue bin made of a tame swine, but dressed
 with varietie of sauces. Euen so (said he) all
 those sortes of people which you haue nowe
 named with diuers names, are all but Syri-
 ans, for all theyr sundry names. Commyng
 agayne to my purpose, I say, that all those
 Nations vnder the Turkes obeysance, bee
 all but Easterlings, betweene whome and
 the westerne people, touching their men of
 warre, there is a great difference. For al the
 histories beare witnesse, that those of the
 West, with their small numbers haue al-
 wayes vanquished them of the East with
 their greate numbers, as appeareth by the
 wars which the Romanes haue made the.
 If it bee replied to me that the Turkes bee
 at thys daye moze valiaunt, than were the
 auncient nations of the east, as being issued
 out of the warlike nations, inhabiting the
 South, I wil thereunto answere, and that
 by two reasons. The one is, y how warlike
 soeuer the Turkes are supposed to be: they
 haue by y frech oft times bin vanquished, as
 in the voiage which they made into Leuant
 vnder

vnder Godfrey of Bulloigne, when they con-
 quered Greece, India, and Asia the lesse with
 their confines, euen to the mount Taurus.
 And not only so conquered those countries,
 but also them selues, and theyr successors
 raigned ouer them. 26. yeeres, in the ende
 whereof, those successors fell in deuision and
 banded the one againste the other, and by
 that occasion they were all expelled thence.
 My other reason is, that it is very likely that
 the Turkes since they came from the South
 partes to dwell in Greece, and other the East
 countries: are muche degenerated from their
 naturall and firste noblenesse, as were the
 French that sometime went to dwell in that
 part of Greece, which after was called Gallo
 Grecia. For the firste that went thither were
 so braue, so valiant, and so warlike a people,
 as they not onely enioyed the countrie at
 their pleasure, but by their vertues and vali-
 ances kept in awe all the kings and countries
 that were round about them, so far forth, as
 they were glad to yeeld them tribute, for the
 enioying of their fauours. But in proceffe of
 time, that race so degenerated, as Attalus a
 King in Asia first refused the payment of the
 tribute

tribute by his predecessors before payed, by whom (when they had long therfore assailed him with warre,) they were in the ende overcome: and after that they became euery daye more cowardly than other, so as they were againe vanquished by the Romanes vnder the conduct of Captayn Manlius. And what should let your maiestie from doyng as much as did sometime those of the French nation, vnder the conduct of that gentle Godfrey of Bulloigne? Seeing that the people of that countrie (namely the Greekes,) desire nothing more than their cutting off from their obedience to the Turke, which is a barbarous tyrant, enemie to all lawes, godlynesse, knowledge, yea & to learning, whereof that countrie of Greece was wont to bee the nourishing mother. It is also well known, that the King of Moscouia is a very cruell tyrant, and so cruelly and barbarously reigneth ouer his subiectes, as they woulde most gladly be vnynoked from his subiection. Of other countries of Christendome I speake not, leauing for euery man of iudgemente to thinke, whether welneere anye thing shall be impossible to your maiestie, hauing

having linked y^e forces of your two realms
with those of Almaine, and especially when
your gouernement shall be fauourable and
agreeable to youre subiectes, wherethrough
also other nations will become desirous to
submit them selues to your obeyſance.

¶ We read that Charlemain your predeceſſor
was ſo wiſe & ſo good a prince, that all
Italy deſired him for their Lord. And it
came to paſſe, that (by the means of that
good liking which the world had of him) hee
was choſen Emperour. Xenophon writeth,
that Cyrus the greate Monarche in Leuant,
was ſo gentle & moſt in his gouernment, y^e
thoſe nations that neuer ſaw him (but had onely
heard ſpeaking of him,) deſired to become
his ſubiects, and this propertie he had, that he
woulde leave to euerie nation their lawes,
cuſtomes, liberties, and religions, withoute
chaunging in the ſame any thing contrary
to their conſentes, which the Greekes called
in one word Autonomie. The granting of
which, hath alwayes bin and is the very rea-
dy way to walke in for any Prince y^e would
either gaine any ſtrange nation, or winne the
hartes of his own ſubiects. So vſed Alexander
the

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the great his conquests, contenting himselfe
with the soueraigntie ouer those nations
which he subdued, without altering of theyr
estates, or forcing of their religions. The
like whereof vsed the aunciente Romanes,
when vnder their gouernment they brought
any nation, for they willingly altered not y
state of the countries which they conquered,
nor forced the people to the receipt of theyr
lawes or religion, if they made any change,
it was in diminishing the tributes for the
drawing vnto them the loue of the people.
And Iulius Caesar did such so in his conquests
of Fraunce, for hee altered nothing of the
states of those Cities whiche hee conquered,
but vsed them with as much curtesie and
gentlenesse, as he possible might. If any ci-
tie rebelled, by gentle meanes he soughte to
reduce the vnder his obedience. And though
he was oft constrained to fetch them in by
force, he vsed not (being victour) his victo-
ries cruelly, but was alwayes enclined to
pardoning. To the vnfaithfull he forbore
the rendering of vnfaithfulnesse, as one y in
such treacheries would take no example of
his aduersaries. And of a truth, there was
nothing

nothing more furthered the conquestes of Alexander, Cyrus, the ancient Romanes Caesar, and such other great conquerors, than did the graunt of that Autonomie: for little care took the people for making much resistance, when they considered, that by being to their gouernemente submitted, theye castes shoulde rather be much amended, than any whit appaired. The Switchers at this day with much mildene and humilitie, entreat their subiects, saying, that there be no stronger castles nor more impregnable fortis, than those that bee builded with the hartes of the subiects.

Who so woulde take vpon him the discouering at large of the greates benefites, that a good peace woulde bring to your crowne and poore subiects, might find matter sufficient to fill a great volume: but I shall contente mee with what before is saide, adding only this vnto it, that in hauing a good peace, yee shall shunne all the mischiefes and miseries that warres alwayes bring with them: & though there growe therevpon none other commoditie, yet were the same alone sufficient to moue you to the procuring of peace. Whych

God

God give your Majesty the grace to make,
in the house and augmentation of your nobles
all estate, and in the profit and contentment
of your people. The same God also make
you as happy as was Caesar Augustus
whiche after the long and cruel warres, es-
tablished a strong, good and perpetual
peace throughout the Empire of Rome and

The thirde booke.

I reflecte now, that I have written upon the
third point, of the which I say, that it is not
so much impossible to establish a good peace
in France, as many judge it to be. Of or the
better opening wherof, I will first answer
to the difficulties whiche therein are alle-
ged. It is sayde that a peace cannot be made
throughout all France, withoute the per-
mitting of the free exercise of both the reli-
gion, a thing altho it be insufferable, by cause
it is contrary to the commandmentes of God
and the lawes of nature. I can confidently confesse that
peace cannot otherwise be made, but I de-
fine it to be a thing insufferable. ¶

arines

h.

The

The Turkes by their Alcoron, are bounde
to become perpetuall sworne enemies to the
Christians, and to detest Jesus Christ, in
denying hym to be God, to reiect the holy
Trinitie, neyther may they beleue the ho-
ly Scriptures of the Bible: and they neuer
crown Emperor but they solemnely
swear him to continuall warre with the
Christians. All the which notwithstanding,
the Great Turke, doth suffer the Christians
vnder his obeylance to enioy theyr Religi-
on, wherein (paying their tributes) they liue
peaceably without controlement or mur-
dure of the people. And every man seeth the
Turkish Religion, to be much more con-
trary to the Catholiques, than is that of the
Gospell. For the Gospellers acknowledge
Jesus Christ for God and man, and to bee
the mediator betwene God his Father
and men: they allow of the Trinitie and ho-
ly Scriptures of the Bible. Pra they agree
with the Catholiques, in the Articles of the
Faith. Wherefore then shoulde these two
religions be insufferable (the Catholiques
and the Turkes being together tollerable.)

The Jewish Religion was and is much
contra-

contrary to that of the Paimims, for neuer did
 nation so much detest images and numbers
 of Goddes, as dyd the Jewes, notwithstanding
 that they haue had and yet haue: (an in-
 finite number of Ceremonies perticular to
 them selues) and contrariwise the Paganes
 haue had an infinite number of Gods with
 their temples full of images, and their cere-
 monies and traditions cleane contrary to
 those of the Jewes. And is there not amongst
 all the nations of the Paimims (as Greekes,
 Parthians, Medes, Elamites, Mesopotamians
 and generally throughout all the East and
 West peoples,) Synagogues of the Jewes?
 Yea, and it is lawfull to the Paimims (as
 amongst whome they dwell) to make them-
 selues Jewes, after the which done, they are
 called by the name of Proselytes. We read
 also of diuers Romane Emperours, (aswel
 Paimims as Christiāns) which haue suffered y^e
 Jewes to dwell vnder y^e obeylance of y^e Em-
 pire, as Nerua, Antonius Pius, Constantine,
 Theodosius, Valentinian, Gratian, Honorius,
 Arcadius, Iustinian & other. And at this day,
 y^e Pope, y^e Venetiāns, many towncs of Italy &
 Almaine, suffer sinagogs of y^e Jewes vnder

h. ij.

their lic.

Dion in
 Nerua ca-
 pitolinus in
 An Putat
 C. de Iu-
 deis & Ce-

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obeyfance, and yet is the Jewiſh Religion
much more contrarie to the Catholiques,
than is that of the Goſpellers. Some perad-
venture will ſay, that the French men will
not ſuffer any Jewes in Fraunce, but have
alwayes expelled them. I confeſſe that they
have chased them away, yet not for matters
of religion, but partly for their cruelties
committed vpon yong children (whom they
robbed from the Chriſtians,) as the hiſtories
make mention, and eſpecially for the hatred
that they bare to their vſuries: wherevpon
they yet vſe this prouerbe, when any is noted
for a great vſurer, He is in vſury a very Iewe.
Vpon the which occaſion alſo the Italians
heretofore called Lombards (which with
their great vſuries did robbe (as ſtill they do)
the realme of the treaſure) have bin chased
out of Fraunce. In the beſt towneſ whereof
(yea and that in the very harte of the ſame
where diuers ſtreets and places, yet beare
the names of Iewries) the Jewes ſhould now
dwell at their eaſe (as well as euer they did)
were there none other matter to let them
than their onely religion, which (though
it be much contrary to that of the Catho-
liques)

liques) was neuer the cause of their chassing
out of Fraunce, where before their expul-
mente, they hadde dwelte many hundred
yeeres.

Neither can it bee denied, that the Pay-
nims Religion is cleane contrary to that of
the Catholiques, and yet haue diuers Pay-
nim Emperours suffered as many as wold,
to become Christians vnder them, as Nerua,
Anthonius Pius, and Alexander Seuerus.
Traian also did secretly suffer them likewise
to do withoute any search made after them.
And those Emperours dyd not so in respecte
of any good thyng they founde in the Chri-
stian Religion, the professors whereof they
beleued to be the wickeddest people in the
worlde, in somuche as among the Paynim
people, the only name of Christian was de-
testted and abhorred, witnesse heereof Sue-
tonius whych called the Christians, men of a
newe (and malicious) superstition. And
Tacitus sayd, that the people vsed the name
of Christian as a matter of mockery and
derision, the professors whereof were ha-
ted bycause of their wickednesse. Wherein
Suetonius and Tacitus shewed them selues
good

Dion is.
Nerua. A.
pio. Lam-
pridius in
Alexandro.

Suetonius
in Nerone
Cap. 16. Ta-
citus Anna-
lium, lib. 15

good courtiers, taking pleasure with lying
to please the princes and the people. Pliny the
second, though he was a Pagan as they
were, and lived in their time, durst not live
so impudently, but of the lives of the Chri-
stians, (to the Emperour Traian) rendered a
good testimonie, as in his Epistles is to be
scene.

Seeing then the Pagan Emperours
had so euill opinion of the christians, where-
fore suffered he them to be Christened? Euen
for the benefyte of peace? The Emperours
Dioclesian and Maximian did greatly per-
secute the Christians, and that of purpose,
to rote them out, in whiche persecution
they did to death an infinite number, but
when they sawe theye crueltie nothing to
peruayle (but that for everyone they kille,
ten other encreased, Maximian at the last
suffered, who so would be to become Chri-
stened, and to exercise that Religion. As much
myghte be sayde of the Christian Empe-
rours, which did as well detest the Pagans
Religion, as dyd the Pagans that of the
Christians, yet would they neuer take vp
pon

pon them the constraint of their consciences,
but suffered to continue Paimims as many
as woulde.

The Historiographer Marcellinus wit-
nesseth, that the Emperoure Valentinian
(whyche was a Christian) vied not to mo-
leest any person, for matters of Religion,
nor ever commaunded that any shoulde
worship eyther this or that, with one fashi-
on or other.

Am. Mar-
cellinus
libro. 30.

Likewise also the Emperours Honorius,
and Theodosius, (whyche were Christians)
woulde not that the Paimims shoulde be for-
ced to be Christened, but caused an expresse
lawe to bee made, that none shoulde offende
them, (eyther in their persons or their goods)
vnder the pretence of Religion. If then the
Christians haue suffered the Paimims Reli-
gion, and the Paimims haue likewise suffe-
red the Religion of the Christians. Where-
fore (to winne peace) will not the Catho-
liques suffer that Religion of the Gospel-
lers? Those two religions haue bin seene
(fir) to dwel peaceably together within your
realme of Poland, as also in many towns of
Almaine,

I. Christia-
nis C. de
paganis.

Almaine, and wherefore should they not as
well dwell peaceably together in France?
Are the French men more hard to be tamed,
more disobedient, or more barbarous and
fierce, than other nations? It appeareth
cleane contrary. For upon the Edict of Ja-
nuary, the Catholiques were not grieved
at all to see the Gospellers use the exercise of
their religion, though it were somewhat
newe unto them, but liued the one with
the other together in good peace, wherein al-
so they had till this time continued, if the
vnhappy execution of Valsi (which was the
wellspring of all our warres, and of all the
miseries and mischiefes which we haue since
that time suffered or yet doe suffer) had not
happened.

I will not denie, but the warres and acts
of hostilitie, passed betweene y^e one & the o-
ther, haue bredde in the hartes of men, hauntie
minds, & euil dispositiōs, which may be some
cause, that the Catholiques will now, (more
hardly thā in the beginning,) suffer to come
so neere them the exercise of the Religion:
and the rather, for that many esteeme the
same Religion to bee the cause of all the
sayde

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sayde miseries and mischiefes whiche they
feare, would excede if it shoulde againe be
reestabliſhed in Fraunce. Whereunto I an-
ſwere, that the people of any good iudgemēt,
are not of that opinion, as thoſe that well
knowe (and it is in deede moſt true), that the
ambition of ſome, with the deſire they haue
to commande, and their greedinne by the
robberie of other to enrich them ſelves, haue
bene and are the only cauſes of our troubles,
and that there the name of Religion, hath
bene vſed but as a cloake or a curtaine to co-
uer thoſe pretences. For ſome ſay, they will
not ſuffer in Fraunce, any other religion thā
the Catholike, as the moſt anncient, and that
hath bene receiued from time out of mynde,
ſince the time of great king Clouis : and o-
ther ſome ſay, they will folowe the religion
reſourmed, that was not only befoze Clouis,
but alſo befoze the realme of Fraunce : and
that they ought not in their conſciences, to be
forced : vpon the which controuerſie theſe ci-
uill warres haue bene builded, but the chiefe
aduauncers of the cauſe haue had in their
hartes another maner of zeale than of reli-
gion, as men of iudgement haue well per-
ceyued.

ceved the common people (which iudge all
 things rashly) for that they esteeme religion
 to be the cause of our warres and calamities,
 stande in feare that (it taking place) the olde
 woundes woulde breake out and bleed a-
 gaine. This vulgar opinion is not much to
 be passed on, because it alwayes readily ran-
 geth to the strongest parte. But for myne
 owne part, I beleene that the best part of no-
 bilitie, of the commonaltie, yea of the clea-
 gie, for the obtayning of peace, would easily
 consent that the Gospel should freely be sta-
 blished in Fraunce, till such time as God (to
 whome onely the clearing of mans heart by
 the light of his truth appertayneth) myght
 knit vs all in one kynde of religion, whiche
 we are to hope that he (who is the father of
 knowledge and discoverer of all things) will
 doe, after men shall awhile haue re-
 posed them from the ciuill warres, and cast
 quite off that stoutnesse and hatred whiche
 nowe blindeth their iudgements. There
 is at this present no order, because each to the
 side he standeth on, sticketh fast to his faith
 to him selfe, my religion is good, and I will
 not steppe one foote from it. For where-
 fore

loze saith he that I now change my faith and
 beliefe, seeing I haue fought and borne ar-
 mes in defence of the same? Beholde the
 reason men make at this day, of whome ye
 shall haue none other matters. But if their
 heartes were once a little unfraighted of
 their stoutnesse and malice, they shoulde all
 easily see, that for hauing borne armes of a-
 ny side, they shoulde not forbear to folowe
 the trueth, nor willingly seeke their owne
 dominatio. Standing the at this present, wout
 any order to ioyne as in one religion, euerie
 wise man may see, that to this point it muste
 come, either we must nourish wars al y days
 of our life in Fraunce: or in y same suffer the
 vse of both the religions, and of two necessi-
 ties, the least is to be cholen. For to think that
 the Gospellers will be easily rooted out, and
 wholly dispatched away, it were a meere
 madnesse (the experience of xv. peres hauing
 shewed vs the contrarie.) And the histories
 beare witness, that often the smaller num-
 ber hath overcome the greater, and that one
 thousande souldiers (brought into extreame
 necessitie) are many times more worth, than
 tenne thousande other. There is surely as
 much

much difference betweene men that fight for the conseruation of their consciences, wiues, children, and goods, and suche as fight onely for wages : as there is betweene that one wolfe, whiche in his den defending his yong ones is assayled, and that other (whiche hauing no yong) through the wood at pleasure is chased.

3 Nowe, if ye must in Fraunce eyther haue your ciuill warres continued, or both religions suffered : who seeth not of the two, suche sufferances to be most expedient ? Yea but (say they) neyther the people, nor the clergie will thereunto agree. I knowe not their mindes nor willes, but I shall prescribe such a reasonable meane, as woulde easily I am sure, procure their consentes, and that without constraynt : the meane is this. Let your Maiestie commaunde that patenters be dispatched to all the communalities of your towne, and to the Chapters and Colleges of your clergie, wherethrough they may be done to vnderstande, howe you are desirous that your realme of Fraunce, should be restored to rest and peace, and that the same can not be done but by the one way of these two,

two, that is, either by warre to overcome
 and cleane rote out all the pretended rebels :
 or by giuing them peace, with the graunting
 to them the vse of their religion. Whereupon
 your pleasure is, that they deliberate in
 their assemblies, and of their resolute aduices
 aduertise you, which of those two ways they
 finde most expedient, without being in the
 same either circumstance, or any if. And let
 it further to them be knowne, that such shall
 prosecute the warres against the sayde pre-
 tended rebels (at the charges of their townes,
 commonalties, Chapters, and Colleges :)
 as finde most expedient the following of the
 same, from the which charge also shall be ex-
 empted all such as for the hauing of peace,
 are willing to accept the exercise of religi-
 on. And I verily thinke so, that upon the
 putting forth of such patenttes, all the realme
 will soon be seene to encline them selues to
 peace, rather one being glad rather to accept
 the exercise of that religion (yea within their
 chiefe and sayest Churches) than to main-
 teine at their charges a warre, the ende and
 victorie wherof is so vncertaine. For tou-
 ching the first, they can not deny it for a thing
 verie

C3

bert reasonable, that those whiche would
 haue wars, should beare of wars the charge,
 and those desirous of peace should from such
 charge be free: it is a thing ordinarily vsed
 in the ministratiō of iustice, where they con-
 demne in costes, damages, and intrestes, such
 as prosecute any proccesse to the diffinitive
 sentence, and discharge thereof such as in time
 breake off their sute: and let it so in this case
 be determined, and the charges arising to the
 rest, will appaare no small portion. For the
 furnishing and entertayning of an armie of
 25000. footemen, and five or six thousande
 horsemen, will require no lesse charge than
 three hundred thousande crownes a moneth,
 which amounteth in the yere neare to foure
 Millions of gold. If any shal say that many
 souldiers will be found which in this warre
 wil serue gratis, I can not beleue it, for there
 are at this day both footmen & horsemen much
 grieved for their nonpayments. Wherefore,
 the best they could doe, were first to pay those
 arrearages. And if they say y^e your ordinarie
 finauces may beare some part of such char-
 ges: the contrarie is well knowne, they
 are otherwise bestowed. For the summes
 of

of your revenue, are no more than sufficient
to the ordinarie entertaynement of the estate
of your Court, and officers of your crowne:
and the money ordinarily rayled of your
taxes and subsidies, doth but discharge so
many Garrisons as are this daye in the
Realme, whiche in all your good towne
and castels, must of necessitie be entertay-
ned, else woulde the pretended rebelles with
some of them be at hoste. The ordinarie
treasure of your synaunces then being other-
wise employed: it shall be necessarie, that
my sayd Maisters of the towne and Chap-
ters (which are desirous of warre) wylling-
ly determine them selues to furnishe yere-
ly unto your Coffers foure Millions of
golde, and that thereof they make to you an
estate as of an yeerely rent, not to cease in
their time, for it had neede to be a greate re-
venue that shoulde maynteyne those warres
all our life.

But what answer will the aforesayde
maisters of the towne and Chapters make?
me thinkes I heare already what my mas-
ters the Parisians will answer: a sirra, let al
alone, for by Saint John we had rather the
Hugo-

Hugonots preached where they listen, than
 we would disburse so much money as should
 mainteine warres against them, and after if
 in the ende they should get the better hande,
 they would robbe and spoyle vs of all that
 we haue: and the what gaines win we there-
 by? And my maisters of Lions, what will
 they answere? Our traffikes (will they say)
 by these ciuill warres are decayed, and no-
 thing is left wherewith to sustaine vs, but
 the stocks of our shoppes. For since the de-
 cay of those Hugonots in this good towne:
 we haue seene nothing else but miserie and
 hell. There were many good men of them,
 that loued well the profit of this towne, and
 therein mainteined such a good trade of mar-
 chandise, as the towne was muche the better
 for, and the merchantes well liked of: and
 were we not better to suffer them with their
 Religion, than to aduenture the losse of all
 that we haue? They of Roan, Orleans, Tho-
 losa, and all other good townes of Fraunce
 will answere no lesse. And to be shorte, ye
 shall finde few of such courage, but they will
 stoupe to the sufferance of the exercise of the
 sayde religion, (both within their townes
 and

and without) to purchase peace, for the auoy-
ding of such burthens as the charges of those
warres will require. And as for my masters
of the clergie, they will be somewhat loth to
agree hereunto. Neuerthelesse, when they
shall see them selues dyuen to the disbur-
ment of so great summes, about a thing the
successe whereof they shall finde doubtfull
and incertaine, they will looke better about
them. Herewith it may also like your Ma-
iestie to doe them to vnderstande, that if they
haue such zeale to chase this newe Religion,
(which they call heresie) out of the realme of
Fraunce, they must shewe their sayd zeale,
not only in contributing of their money, but
also in folowing of the warres, by seruing in
their owne proper persons.

The Leuites folowed the warres; and
so did the Byschoppes and Prelates of Al-
maine. The Cardinall Female went al-
so against the Protestantes, and why, may
not the clergie of Fraunce doe the lyke?
Set forth the yong Monkes that are vnder
thre score yeeres, and let those that be aboue
tarie at home to say their Masses. They will
answere by the wordes of David, *Zelus do-*

951 130
myselfe to a comedie me. The zeale of thine house
hath eaten me vp. That is to say (say they)
that the Priests ought to keepe their houses,
but vnder correction, they take that passage
of the Scripture amisse, for to the keeping
well of Gods house & their own, it becometh
them to passe through a number of dangers.
Of which, if these good people were but some-
what more touched with their being set for-
warde in their furnitures, to marche in the
Warres: their change of countenance would
sone be leene. It would seeme to the a strange
Metamorphosis. In lieu of a surplis to put on
a corset, in place of a mytter to weare a morio
or bayonet, in steade of a crosse, or an holie
water sprinkle, to handle a launce, or an har-
quebouse: where these were wont to be mou-
nted vpon mules, to ride vpon barbed horses
vnto fierce countries, or else to trot on foote: and
as they lay erst vpon their soft beds, to lodge
now vpon the hard ground (yea and that at
the Agne of the star:) I am wel assured, that
their only apprehension of so straunge an ex-
change, would driue them to yeelde euen the
leaving of their Temples, to the preachers
of the Gospell. Wherfore it is not to be doub-
ted

ted, but that vpon this Parte they would be assured, that those preachers nor their preachings, should be prejudiciall to their goods and reuenues (a poynt verie requisite to be agreed vpon.) For they haue good reason, not to consent to the forgoing of their goods, (the sale of the same being to them forbidden vnder the payne of excommunication,) and their reuenues are needefull to their sustentation of life. The wise Salomon that sendeth vs to the Ante, sheweth vs (say they) that we ought not to suffer our Barners to be emptye. The argument is good: For if the small beasts (as the Antes) haue some care for what to liue by, how much more for liuing then ought to be the care of y^e great? This may serue shal not be impertinent, to make the hearts of your good subiectes, to consent to the acceptation of peace. And if they refuse peace, you are by that meanes to enioy their money, wherewith they can no lesse doe, than furnish you to the mayntenance of the warres, that make choyce of the same. But I verily iudge, they will like best of peace, as thereunto moued in respecte of their profite and quietnesse.

I.ij.

And

And this point being gayned, that your
 subiectes wil agree to the exercise of both re-
 ligions, for the obtaining of peace: all other
 meanes to bring the same to passe, shall ea-
 sily be compassed. For in that the Gospellers
 desire a reformation of iustice: the Catho-
 liques and they agree, both feeling it good to
 haue iustice iustly administred. And it shuld
 be very necessarie, that a good search and sur-
 uey through your Parliamences shoulde be
 made (as well of the highest as of the lowest
 members thereof,) among whome shoulde
 many be found napping and faultie, that haue
 pouled and pilled good men, to their bitter
 doings. I meane not the lifting of the same
 too neare, only the notozious and grosse offe-
 ders, (for their offences) are to be touched.
 And such a search or suruey shuld be no new
 thing. We haue of the like many examples.
 In the time of y^e Romane ciuill warres, be-
 tweene Scilla and Marius, Pompei and Ce-
 sar, many were dispossessed of the Senators
 estate, yea even by those with whome they
 tooke part. For euerie of those great conten-
 ders sought the mean to make many friends
 in the Senate.

But

But Augustus Cæsar (after he had gotten
 y^e goale from his competitor,) was peace-
 ably possessed of the Empire, and had esta-
 blished peace amongst his subiects: he streight
 sought reformation of the states and offices.
 And a speciall tryall made he of the Senate,
 as therunto had slipped by vnlawful means,
 purging the same of such vnworthy persons,
 and so restored be it to the auncient beautie
 and dignitie. The like (sir) were needefull in
 your Parliaments and other places of iustice
 in Fraunce. For the wise and good that now
 be there, shall not be grieued, that the corrupt
 whiche are among them by vnlawfull mea-
 nes entred, should be cut off, to the increase of
 y^e honour of such as shal remaine. We reade
 that one of the principall charges of the Cen-
 sours of Rome, was the chastising and dis-
 placing of the vnwise and vnworthy Sena-
 tors, which were many times chastised euen
 for very small faulces, and what inconue-
 nience were it, if at this day the office of cen-
 sure were somewhat amnogsst vs brought in
 vze? Besides these points of the exercise of the
 Euangelicall religion, and reformation of
 iustice: there be many other necessarie points

Suet. in Au-
 gusto cap. 35.

Treb. Polli
 in Valeriano.

to the making and persisting of a good peace:
 whiche I meane to forbear heere to touche,
 as things not expedient. I wylt now shew
 the meane howe suche a peace may be con-
 cluded vpon and made. For the bringing
 to passe wherof, it shoulde me thinkes be be-
 rie good your Maiestie dyd as your prede-
 cessours haue done, when they would yelde
 a rule for any good peace of iustice or policie
 to passe in Fraunce. Their manner was
 to put their truste in certayne personages
 that were saythfull and wyle, suche and so
 many as myght suffice, to the bodye of a
 Councell to any kingly estate, for their under-
 standing in the formalities of iustice, in the
 poyntes of right, and in the perticulars
 that in any policie were to be considered of.
 And if it myght likewise please your Ma-
 iestie to comit to a dozen (or such other lyke
 number of personages,) the entreatie of all
 the perticulars of a peace: it seemeth to be the
 onely waye whereby all manner of matters,
 doubtles, and difficulties, might be decided
 and resolved. But it shall be needefull,
 that you shewe so muche fauour to the Gos-
 pellers, as they may nominate one dozen of
 such

such persons as they shall thinke meete (pro-
 uided that they be good, wise and apt men)
 out of the which number, you may chuse firs-
 to be of the number of the twelve, by you so
 to be deputed to entreate of the said matters.
 And to those twelue (by your selfe or Deputies
 to be chosen) it shal be requisite, that ye giue
 a strong and large commission, for the hea-
 ring of all plaintes and griefes, and the ap-
 pealing & ending of the same, together with
 the deciding of all suche articles, as shall be
 them by the Gospellers be preferred, in suche
 manner as may be mooste furthering to the
 sayd peace and the common weale: And
 that what so euer shall be so determined and
 agreed vpon, may be of like weight, force and
 authority, as if your selfe (or) in proper person,
 had decided and accorded it. Which good
 and large commission, being giuen to those
 deputies: it were requisite that a place of no
 side to be suspected to them, were assigned to
 execute that comission in. As this good town
 of Frankford (myght it please you to permit
 their comming thither) is free from all sus-
 pition, because bothe the Religions, Ca-
 tholike and Euangelike are therein exercised,

A.iii.

yea

yes the herie Ietons haue heere their place
of safetie. If not here, at Ausburge, where
both Religions are lyke wise vsed, or at
Strasbrough wher both parties shal be wel-
come, or else in some other good town wher-
into may be safe & sure access, as wel for the
commissioners, as for all suche other as shall
haue with them to doe. The sayd commissi-
oners also must by your sayde Maestie be
enioyned (vpon paine for ever to be banished
the realme of France) not to depart thence,
till suche tyme as they haue fully concluded,
vpon so much as shal be necessarie, to the per-
fitting of a good perpetuall peace. No more
than may the Cardinall from the Conclau
when they chose a Pope. Nor the electors of
the Empire, when they elect an Emperour.
And it becometh that it be further ordayned,
that suche of the same commissioners as dis-
sent from the rest, be bound to yelde forth in
writing, the occasion or reason of their suche
dissenting, to yende that if the treatie there-
through become ineffectuall, as well stran-
gers as those of the french nation, may iudge
and knowe, in whome the default doth rest,
that the peace was not concluded, and that
then

then the reasons of both parties be to the
world put forth and published: whereby it
may be seene who is in the right or wrong,
by whiche meane all the worlde shall in the
end come to iudge of both parties, & so iust-
ly hate the obstinate opinion of them, that by
the letting of that good peace shall tumble
Fraunce afresh into the miseries of warre.
And if (by the grace of God) it shall happen
all the articles to be resolved, concluded, and
agreed upon, by your sayd commissioners,
and the same by both sortes in two coppies
(whereof they of each religion to haue one)
to be signed: Let it then please your maiestie
that vnder the name and authoritie of the
same, it be put forth in forme of a perpetu-
all Edict (without altring any iot thereof,) —
and that the same Edict also bee stablished,
sworne, and confirmed by your selfe first, in
your full priuie counsell, then by all the prin-
ces and other counsellours of the same, and
after by all the generall and perticular e-
states, by y^e gouernours of prouinces, towns
and fortes, & their Lientenautes, by all the
Parliamentes, places of Presidents, Bay-
liffes, Stewards, and their Liefetenautes,

I. v.

with

with all other your officers: and by the Cardinals, Bishops, Prelates, Chapters and Colledges of your Realme. The fourme of which oth also to be, that each promise, and sweare before God, and vpon payne of losing their honours, estates, offices, and dignities, with the incurring of your displeasure, as infringers of your peace, and vnder the damnation of their soules (as muche as in them is) to obserue and cause to be obserued without fraude or guile, all things contayned in the sayde Edit, nothing therein altered, by way of moderation, declaration, or otherwise, other than suche declarations and modifications as were made by youre Edit in lyke manner and fourme as was the sayde Edit of peace. The recordes of which othes, (chiefly those of the Lordes of youre priue counsell,) the gouernours of prouinces and townes, the Parliaments, places of presidents, and prouinciall estates (ioyned to the sayd Edit) together, with the actes of publication and establishment, to be imprinted: And that the sayd oth be pearly renewed, and giue to all such, as shall hereafter be installed in any office royall, or take
the

the charge of any other office in the common
weale.

If it might please your Maiestie to think
good of this platte layde for the bringing to
passe of a perfect peace to be had in Fraunce;
mine opinion is, that the Gospellers would
well like thereof, and therunto agree, though
they be full (and not without cause) of mi-
strust, suspition, and dread to be deceyued,
al things welneere being to them suspect.
And to proue that this way carrieth with it
some reason, and no whit toucheth the degra-
dation of your soueraigne authoritie, expe-
rience teacheth it to be a thing almost ordi-
narie to all Kings and Princes, when they
are to deale with any matters of importāce,
(be it with strangers or others, or when they
will make any lawes or ordinaunces tou-
chyng iustice or pollicie in theyr kingdoms,
or countries) to commit the doing thereof
to commissioners and legates. When the
late Kyngs of Fraunce your predecessours
haue made any good ordinaunces eyther of
pollicie, or for the execution of iustice, with-
in your Realme, wherein were contay-
ned the formalitie of pleas, the order of
iudge-

140 281
Iudgements, the manner of making contratts,
and many decisions of rightes taken out of
the lawyers hands : it is very certaine, that
they were driven in the same to vse as com-
missaries and Legates, their chauncellours,
and other meete persons chosen out of theyr
Parliamentes or priue counceils, (for they
them selues neuer studied in the scholes, nor
proceeded Doctours of the lawes, Civil nor
Canon, to the furtheraunce of their know-
ledges in the making of such ordinances, but
trusted their good and faithfull deputies) and
authorized what their saide deputies founde
good and profitable for the common wealth,
although suche resolutions proceeded not of
their owne devices, neyther did they well
vnderstand the. But when your predecessors
would cause to be set downe in wryting, the
customes payable within youre countries,
they did the same by the service of deputies
and legates, and suche customes as were by
the saide deputies and legates assessed and
wrytten : the Princes by a lawe authorized
the perpetual payment therof. And when the
Romanes liked to haue lawes made to rule
rightly their common wealth : they ap-
pointed

pointed ten Legates which made a collection of all the lawes and ordinances that seemed to them profitable or necessary, eyther for the vniuersall state, or for perticular commodities. Whiche said lawes, they placed in twelue tables, and had them in as great estimation, as if all the people had made, decided and established them. For seeing they were made by the authoritie and commission of suche as then helde the soueraigntie, it was al one, as if they them selues had made them. When the Emperour Iustinian collected the ciuill lawes into certayne volumes which he called Code è digeste (generally vsed at this day) he committed y^e doing thereof to Tribonian, Theophile, Dorothe, and other notable lawyers, for him selfe vnderstode nothing thereof, as witnesse the Historiographers, that saye he coulde not reade, so is it very certaine that he neuer vnderstode the thousande part of these matters contayned in the saide Code è digeste. Yet were those bookes neuerthelesse by hym authorized in his allowing of that whiche his commissioners by his commandement did. And it was neuer sayde that those Ro-

mane

mane people, had done any derogation to
 their soueraintie, in their authorizing of
 those ten persons, to the composing of those
 twelue tables, nor that the Emperour Iusti-
 nian, nor youre predecessours, did any whit
 derogate their soueraigne authoritie by de-
 puting commissioners, to make lawes and
 ordinaunces, that passed vnder their princes
 names and commaundementes, who as it
 appeareth, allowed of what their deputies so
 by their commissions had done. Wher-
 fore me thinkes the saying may be holden for
 boyde, that youre maiestie may not make an
 Edict of peace by commissioners withoute
 any derogation to your royall authoritie or
 soueraintie.

No more shall be any thing againste the
 same youre giuing to the Gospellers, the
 nomination of the sayde number of persons,
 wherout your maiestie to chosse the moytie
 for the ioyning with the like number, by
 your selfe to be named and chosen as legates
 or deputies for the bringing to passe of thys
 good worke.

Your predecessours haue giuen y nomination
 to two or thre persons, of their courtcs
 of

of Parliaments whom they would to chosse
 for them, meete men to supplye the offices of
 Presidentships & counsellours rooms, that
 were void in y^e said courtes, as they haue al-
 so done to Maiors, Consuls, Shirefes, and
 other like officers of Townes, for the cho-
 sing of vnder Baylifes, vnder stewardes, &
 other like pettie officers, yet hath it neuer the
 more bin said, that your saide predecessors in
 graunting the saide nominations to theyr
 subiects, haue taken ought from their autho-
 ritie royall, which lieth as muche in creatyng
 of magistrates, as in making of lawes (as
 any man of iudgemente maye both see and
 vnderstand.) The Pope whiche saith hym-
 selfe to haue full power ouer the giftes of
 benefices, leaues the nomination of the in-
 curabent not to two or thre, but to one, not
 to princes, but to petticular persons, whiche
 commonly in benefices haue the right of no-
 mination, and the presenting of such persons
 to y^e same, as to the same good, without re-
 seruatio to y^e said Pope of any election, but
 only y^e institution: and if by suffering of the
 same, he thought anye to derogate, the
 soueraigne power and authoritie, whiche
 he

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he hath ouer the said benefites, he woulde not
(I warrant you) permit any such nominati-
on. So may it playnely be seeie to youre
maiestie, that your authoritie royall, shall no
whit bee Deminished, by the graunting of
your good fauour to the gospellers in y^e sayd
nomination.

Withall is to be considered, that it were
a thing vnreasonable (with youre fauour)
that all the sayd Commissioners shoulde be
Catholiques, for by the ordinace of the kings
your predecessours (by all the forme of iu-
stice here and else where) and by the lawes
deuine, naturall and ciuil, it is lawfull for
the partie to accuse his iudge suspect, be it in
matter criminal, or ciuil. And a iudge may
be holden for suspect, not only if he be of kin-
red, alied, or Gossip, a friende to the partie
aduersse, but also if he be enemye to the par-
tie that refuseth him, or if hee or any of his
kinne haue any interest (little or much) in the
cause, yea if he haue at any time shewed hym
selfe moze affectionate on the one syde, than
on the other, (as he may also in diuers other
lesse causes of refusall.) And who is he that
seeth not, that there is neuer a Catholique
in

In Fraunce, against whome these poore gop-
pellers cannot alledge (not one but) many
and sundry causes of reculation? And if it be
thought rectable to holde a iudge for sus-
pect, and vpon that suspicion to refuse him in
matters of mean weyght: ought he not then
to be refused wbe he shal haue to deale with
conscience, hono^r, landes, goodes, wines, chyld-
ren and life?

And it ought not to seeme straunge, that
I said it should be meete that the said peace
by the said commissioners, were entreated of
without the Realme, for there be many rea-
sons that require the same. First for that it
is better (as sayeth Haller Philip de Com-
nes, a man wel experimented in the affaires
of an estate) it shoulde be done farre off than
neere, and that for diuers considerations,
namely for the keepyng close of that bodye
shall from tyme to tyme be agreed vpon, till
all be concluded and finished. For as in a
paynted table be that beweth y first draught,
shall finde in the same little or nothyng to
hys contentment, yf after, the whole worke
being perished, doth please him very well:
Euen so, if during the time of the treatie
K. (and

he hath ouer the said benefites, he woulde not
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 tie that refuseth him, or if hee or any of his
 kinne haue any interest (little or much) in the
 cause, yea if he haue at any time shewed hym
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nes, a man wel experimented in the affaires
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nere, and that for diuers considerations,
namely for the keepyng close of that bodyche
shall from tyme to tyme be agreed vpon, till
all be concluded and finished. For as in a
papered table be that beweth y first draught,
shall finde in the same little or nothyng to
his contentment, yet after, the whole worke
beckyng perfected, doth please him very well.

Each so, if during the time of the treatie

It.

(and

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(and before the conclusion of all thynges
therein to be argued) some peece thereof a-
greed vppon shoulde bee published: many
were lyke ynough to gaynesay and controll
that peace, that vpon the sight or hearing of
the hole resolution, woulde fynde good cause
of contentment, bycause that he which is not
satisfyed in one poynte, may be satisfyed in
another. And as the Doctours of the lawe
say, it standeth not with good reason that
any should iudge of a lawe or of an Edict,
without hauing redde the same from the
one ende to the other. And as it were a thing
very hard to decide or deale with any thyng
within the Realme that shoulde not inconti-
nent be deuulged: so the reprehensions and
sclaunders that would follow suche diuul-
gation, might be an infallible cause that no-
thyng shoulde bee done, but that intended
good worke broken off and laide aside. Be-
syde that, there is no place within youre
Realme, but is suspected of the one syde or
of the other. For the Catholiques will not
goe to Nismes nor to Rochell, and the Gos-
pellers will bee as vnwilling to come at
Paris, Lions, Tholosa, or other like place.

so that for the doing thereof such a place is to be chosen as may be sure and free for al that shall therein haue to doe. And therefore it was that in times past when they would holde any counsell for the examining of a new doctrine newly come abroade, the place where the counsell should be holden, was chosen within the prouince where such doctrine was abroade, or else in some other such place neere thereto, as was both sure and commodious. Therefore was it also that by the ordinaunce of your predecessors no inquest might be taken, nor any iustice proceede in a place by any of the parties holden suspected, as in the house of the kinsman, ally, or speciall friend, to him that caused the inquest to be empauched: but an indifferent place therefore by the iudge was to be chosen, and by that reason may all the townes in France be suspected: For if the suspicion of a place be curiously to be looked to and aduoyded in small things: how muche are they to be looked to in a matter of so greate a weight as is the seeking and concluding of a peace?

And where I sayd it should be meete, that
 R. H. when

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When the commissioners could not agree
upon some articles of the treaty they whiche
refused to agree and goe through, should
give out by their writings, the reasons of
their dissenting and standing aloof, to the
end the worlde might see who were in the
fault: it is not a matter unreasonable, for
such as shall yeeld as meets is to the agree-
ment of all things that right and reason shall
finde expedient for the common profit, shall
not finde it euill, that a reason be rendered by
them, that otherwise, in their passions will
bee willfull: and therefore if any refuse so to
do, it shall seeme, if they want good will to see
what way that shuld bring all things in frame
are to be founded vpon equitie & common profit.
Neither ought so to be euill taken what
I speake touching others, for as the common
saying is) he that wil wal pay, wil willingly
become bound. And your maiesty also
by by youre saide last Edict of October ap-
proved this poynt, when ye promised in the
word of a king, to cause to be obserued, what
soeuer should be agreed vpon, and to make
the same passe in maner of a recorde, with the
consents of your Parliamentes, townes and
commonalties of your realme.

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I shall thinke my selfe well satisfied
(in all humilitie and reverence) to haue shew-
wed vnto you (as to my naturall prince) the
three poyntes, wherof I haue before entrea-
sed. Most humbly beseeching your Maiestie
to take the same in good part, as is that is pro-
ceeded from the heartie affection of a good
french subiect, that is worthy all increase of hon-
our, and prosperitie to your person, and qui-
etnesse to your more subiectes. And if it shall
please God to moue you to thinke so well of
this plot (laid for the building of a prae) as
you will appoint and charge commissioners
with the dealing in the same. I will seeke my
selfe to the opening of such other particulare
meanes, for the bringing thereof to passe, as
are not meete at this present in writing to
be discovered. But amongst other things, I
will open vnto them how needfull it were
that a good prae should be made, for y ban-
ishing of Machiuel, for sure out of France,
as one that hath bene the greatest harme, & im-
posture that euer was in the world, the an-
cient Romans, Greeks, and Frenchmen,
and all other well ruled commonwealthes,
hauing bin ruled cleane contrary to his doc-
trine:

trine. And that his disciples whiche have brought into Fraunce the obseruation of his precepts, haue bene the very cause of the ciuill warres and miseries of the realme. It may be that his precepts be good and necessarie for those of his nation, for they teach (among other things) the nonmaking of account of any religion, otherwile than for the keeping of the people in a superstitious feare and obedience: vpon which his opinion might be inferred, that the Turkish religion (wherewith God deliuer vs) might safely of any be receiued, for by the same the Turke holdeth his subiectes vnder suche feare and obedience, as they refuse not at his commandement the murdering of their selues, thinking therevpon to be straight to their Paradise, that floweth with mylke and honey. He sheweth also, that a Prince should beare good countenance to all promise much, and keepe touch in nothing, more than feruently to his advantage. Moreover, his disciples vnder these faire persuasions. If it be profitable to a King (say they) to raze out and destroy such houses and such, let him doe it, without taking any aduise what may folowe of his so doing.

doing. Such as haue brought into Fraunce
the obseruation of Machiauels precepts, haue
not well considered, that the Frenchmen in
nature farre differ from their nation. The
French are naturally religiōs, louers of ver-
tue, and take no pleasure neyther in falsify-
ing of their sayth, condemning of their honoꝝ
and reputatiō, noꝝ in the shedding of bloud.
If the Macheuilians be endued with those
good qualities: let them there kepe them, and
folowe their Doctors doctrine, that was the
greatest Atheist that euer the worlde bred,
with his companion the Arotine, as their
writings doth openly shew, so as they keepe
them selues from poysoning of our French
nation, with those their abhominable vices.
But I will reserue till another time (when
it shall better fall out to the purpose) the spea-
king more largely to my Lords & Maisters
the Macheuilians, whome I will then shew,
that al their policie & sufficiēcie, is none other
than a brutish ignorance, accompanied with
a wicked heart and will: and that they ne-
uer read the good histories writtē in Greeke,
Latin, or French, or if they haue read, they
neuer well vnderstode them. I will for this
time

time proceede no further, but make an end of
 this present Declaration, the which I once a-
 gaine most humbly beseech your Maestie to
 take in good part, so as it may passe from this
 good towne of Frankford to your bandes.
 Praying the Ctrafour of all things, to en-
 due you with his grace, Mostly to establish a
 good peace in your poore Realme, so muche
 fornt and spoyle by these warres past, by
 meane whereof, all your subiectes may ren-
 der vnto you their good and willing obe-
 dience. The same also preserve you
 in happy prosperitie, and encrease
 you with much power
 and honour.

FINIS.



